KANNADA PASSAGES
IN THE
OXYRHYNCUS PAPYRI No. 413
By
S. Srikantaiya.

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S. SRIKANTAIYA

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KANNADA PASSAGES IN THE OXYRHYNCUS PAPYRI No. 413.*

By S. Srikantaiya, Esq., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

In the Archæological Report for 1926, Dr. R. Shama Sastri, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, gives a prominent place to a consideration of the identification of certain passages in an unknown language occurring in a Greek farce of the second century A.D.

As a result of the excavations carried out in Lower Egypt at the instance of the Biblical Archæological Association, at Oxyrhynchus a large find of Papyri was made in 1897. Texts and translations were then completed and the Oxyrhyncus Papyri No. III was published by Messrs. B. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt in June 1903 under the auspices of the Egyptian Exploration Fund. Among the new classical fragments in that volume, No. 413 is a Greek play or farce, based upon the story of a Greek girl carried off to the coast of a country bordering on the Indian Ocean and rescued by her brother, with some passages in an unknown language. In the *Hermes* (Berlin), Vol. XXXIX, p. 307 *ff.* and in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1904, Dr. E. Hultzsch sought to identify a few of the passages with words in the Kannada language. Mr. B. L. Rice, in the Mysore Archæological Report for 1904, considered this identification interesting and significant. According to him, in the Papyrus, "occur what are meant to be some Indian words, and these, it has been conjectured, are no other than Kannada, the prevalence of which in parts of the west coast renders the supposition not improbable. Of the two or three short sentences used, a Greek translation is given of a portion, and they are thus known to refer to a drinking scene..... Dr. Hultzsch.....with some modifications of the originals produces (Kannada) sentences.....The subject is certainly of interest, and connects the language of Mysore with early classical antiquities in an unexpected manner." Mon. S. Levi refers to the fragment of a Greek farce, played in Egypt, which has its scene laid in India, and has for its topic the adventures of a young Greek, Charition, who finds herself in the power of an Indian king, and observes that by its importance for the history of the Indian theatre, the fragment calls for special study.[1] According to Dr. G. A. Grierson, the oldest specimen of Kanarese is, according to Dr. Hultzsch, contained in a Greek play preserved in a papyrus of the second century A.D.[2] Rao Bahadur R. A. Narasimhachar, in the *Lives of Kannada Poets*, first

* A paper read before the Mythic Society on the 28th February, 1928.

1. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 12. 2. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, p. 653.

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published in 1907 and since republished, also refers to it.[3] Further on, he says in Kannada—'ಕೆಲವು ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು ಜೊತೆಯುತ್ತವೆ,'[4] though he carefully adds a foot-note that *Dr. Hultzsch* reads a few sentences of the Greek farce as: ಚೀರೆ ಕೊಂಚ ಮಧು ಪಾತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಹಾಕಿ ; ಪಾನಂ ಚೀರೆತ್ತಿ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಮಧುವಂ ಬೆರೆತ್ತು ಪೆನಾ.

Dr. Kittel died at Tubingen in 1903, apparently without the knowledge of the papyrus or without having been able to give a consideration to it. Dr. Shama Sastri has taken considerable trouble in identifying every unknown word in the Greek papyrus. It is hoped that his splendid effort will engage the attention of scholars as it deserves.

As regards the play, the authors observe : "Both sides of this remarkable papyrus are occupied with literary compositions of an unusual type. On the *recto* are three columns, of which the two latter are almost complete, of a low comedy or farce, written in a good sized semi-uncial hand, the *dramatis personæ* being carefully distinguished and stage directions added. Adhering to the right of the third column about half-way down is an uninscribed fragment of some size, showing that the work did not extend beyond half a column more at most. On the *verso* are, firstly, two columns in a much smaller and more cursive hand, preceded by a few letters of a third upon the projecting fragment already referred to, from what may best be described as a mime, which is mainly, at the best, a monologue. The second of the two complete columns is shorter than the other, and there are some six centimetres of blank space below it. Secondly, adjoining this to the right is another column of dialogue in the style of the *recto*, and with the same characters, written in a somewhat larger and more careful hand, but evidently by the same person who was responsible for the foregoing mime. This column was intended to supersede the latter portion of the first column of the *recto*.....To assign both sides of the papyrus to one scribe is out of the question, but we are not inclined to think that the two documents were separated by a considerable interval of time. The hand of the *recto* we attribute with little hesitation to the Antonine period : that of the *verso* no doubt falls within the second century.[5]

In the words of the publishers of the Papyri, the scene of the play is the coast of a barbarian country bordering on the Indian Ocean, and the subject is the adventures in those remote regions of a party of Greeks, chief among whom is Charition, the heroine of the drama. Such themes are familiar from the pages of the early Greek romances, and the plot of this piece seems to have run very similar to theirs.[6] Charition had not improbably been

3. Introduction, p. 16. 4. *Ib.*, Kan. Intro, p. 7, *i.e.*, Some Kannada words occur.

5. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III, p. 41.

6. *Cf.* Euripides; Helen. The real Helen takes refuge in the royal tomb of the Egyptian king wherefrom she is rescued, from falling into their hands, by Greek sailors who arrive there on their way from Troy, with her husband Menelaus.

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carried off in the usual way by pirates, and had so come into the hands of the barbarians, whose Greek-speaking king is one of the characters of the play. She had apparently taken up her abode in a temple; and the present fragment describes her rescue by her brother and others who had arrived by sea, and who succeed in effecting their escape after making her captors drunk. The buffoon supplies the comic element in the farce.[7]

The entire dialogue in the play or farce has been reconstructed, with marvellous dexterity by Dr. R. Shama Sastri. According to him, the scene is Malpi, a harbour near Mangalore, into the hands of whose king Charition falls a captive. The Greek lady is said to be familiar with the language of the country to carry on a conversation with its king, who is also familiar with the Greek tongue. The buffoon is ignorant of the Indian dialect but yet some non-Greek words are assigned to him. Two more Greek characters in the play are acquainted with the unknown language.

Dr. Hultzsch who first essayed the identification of some unknown words with the Kannada language details several reasons in its support :—

A. 1. The farce is concerned with a lady's stranding on the borders of the Indian Ocean and the king of that country addresses his retinue by the words " Chiefs of the Indians ".

2. The king and his retinue use their own language.

3. Twice one of the Greeks accompanying the lady gives the Greek translation of a few Indian words :—

(*a*) l. 59 — *Brathis* means 'let us draw lots for the shares', l. 64—*brathis* = *bēṛ aḍisi*.[8]

(*b*) l. 66 — The words *Kottos* and *Zopit* are rendered into 'give to drink quickly'.

Kottos = *Kuḍisu* = give to drink.

(*c*) l. 61 — means 'having poured a little wine into the cup separately' = *Beṛe koncha madhu pātrakke hāki*'.[9]

(*d*) ll. 83-4. Dr. Hultzsch agrees with Dr. Grierson's conjecture that the first word *pânoum* may be *pânam* = drink. Then, if Kannada, *pânam beṛe etti katti madhuvam ber ettuvenu*, *i. e.*, 'having taken up the cup separately and having covered (it), I shall take wine separately'.[10]

(*e*) l. 85. *Parak* is *Parāku*, *i. e.*, attention.[11]

NOTE.—Dr. Hultzsch is unable to make out the other words and sentences in the 'barbarian language', which Dr. R. Shama Sastri has now identified as Kannada.

7. *Oxy. Pap.*, p. 42.
8. *Cf.* Note 12, p. 13 of the *Mys. Arch. Rep*, 1926. Also p. 46, l. 59, *Oxy. Pap.*
9. *Cf.* Note 16, p. 14 of the *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1926.
10. *Cf.* Note 43, p. 15 of Do.
11. *Cf.* Note 44, p. 15 of Do. ; blessing.

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B. The Indian language employed being Kannada, the site of Charition's adventures must be a port on the west coast of India between Karwar and Mangalore. Though now parts of North and South Kanara, where, besides Kannada, Konkani and Tulu are spoken, this territory was formerly ruled over by Kanarese princes.

C. The unknown author of the Greek farce may have acquired his knowledge of the Kanarese words and sentences either from a native of Kanara who resided in Egypt, or from a Greek who had learnt the vernacular during his stay in India.

D. The existence of commerce by sea between Africa and India at the time renders it possible. The *Periplus* and Ptolemy mention a large number of ports on the Indian west coast by name. After Hippalus, the south-west monsoon was availed of by the Greek mariners to go to India from Arabia or Cape Guardafui.

E. (*i*) In the list of inhabitants dating from the time of Vespasian, an Egyptian is registered as absent in India.[12]

(ii) In an (hitherto misread) inscription of the temple of Redēsīye, on the route from the port of Berenikē, on the Red Sea, to Apollinopolis Magna (now Edfu), on the Nile, Prof. Wilcken discovered the name of an Indian traveller who halted there to worship at the shrine of the Greek god Pan.[13]

F. The existence of Roman imperial coins found in several parts of South India, in Malabar, Cannanore, the Coimbatore district, on the Coromandel Coast, at Madura, etc., goes to suggest the existence of a Roman Settlement and a mint at Madura.[14]

G. Indian Astronomy was greatly influenced by the Greeks:

(i) Romaka Siddhanta gave rules for the meridian Yavanapura (of the Greeks) *i.e.*, Alexandria. The results of Greek science which were known to the author were imported from Africa by sea to the port of Broach on the Narmada river and hence up-country to Ujjain.[15]

(ii) *Gargya-Samhita* (first century B.C. Prof. Kern) mentions the Greek astronomers as well as the Greek kings of the Punjab.

(iii) A calendar fragment discovered at Milet and belonging to the second century B.C. gives several weather forecasts on the authority of the Indian Kallaneus.[16]

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12. Kenyon: *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. II, p. 48, l. 42; p. 49, l. 92, *cf.* Prof. Wilcken.

13. Dr. Hultzsch says the record belongs to the period of the Ptolemies and the name of the record may be a hellenised form of the Hindu word Subhānu. Quaere, why not bhānu?

14. A silver coin purchased by Dr. Hultzsch in the Bangalore bazaars bore on the obverse the head of Ptolemy I facing the proper left, and on the reverse an eagle, sitting on the thunder bolt and facing the proper right, with a legend in Greek round the eagle. *cf. J.R.A.S.* 1904.

15. We are also supposed to get our names of the days of the week from the Greeks.

16. Information furnished by Prof. Wilcken to Dr. Hultzsch.

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(iv) Kalanos, not the Gymnosophist who accompanied Alexander and ascended the funeral pyre at Susa, turns up at the embassy to Augustus. He comes from Broach and burns himself at Athens, where a tomb is raised to him.

H. The Græco-Roman records of Indian embassies are full of similar odd and incredible statements.[17] To Augustus, "embassies of kings were frequently despatched from India, which had never before been seen with a leader of the Romans.[18]

From these, Dr. Hultzsch concludes a lively intercourse between India and Occident about the time of the birth of Christ and says there can be nothing strange in the circumstance that the author of the Oxyrhyncus farce or his informant must have been acquainted with the Kannada language.[19]

Kannada Language.

The Kannada language is now spoken in the whole of Mysore and Coorg, surrounding parts of the Madras Presidency, in the Nilgiris, in Madura by the immigrants, in parts of Central Provinces and Berar, in the southern districts of the Bombay Presidency and in the western parts of the Nizam's Dominions, by a population totalling about eleven millions. About the ninth century A.D., it was spoken from the river Kaveri to the river Godavari. The group of Dravidian languages as a whole, however, covered the entire peninsular India from the Vindhya mountains and the Narmada river in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, excluding Orissa in the east and the Gujarati and Marathi districts in the west, and also in the northern half of Ceylon. Besides, a Dravidian dialect, Brāhūi, is spoken in the far north-west in Beluchistan.[20]

Malayalam is said to be a very ancient off-shoot of Tamil. Mr. Sten Konow considers very many similarities to exist between the Etruscan and Dravidian languages.[21] Telugu which has a very rich literature, is mainly spoken on the Coromandel coast, north of Madras, and the adjacent interior right up to the centre of Hyderabad.

Whether the Dravidian civilization or the Indo-Aryan Brahmanical culture be older, the fact remains that the materials for a study of the early Dravidian institutions are scanty,[22] and it is even more so with regard to the Kannada country.

Tamil was the language of all the kingdoms in the south, in the early centuries A.D. Malayalam was not in existence. The golden age of Tamil literature may be ascribed to the first three centuries A.C.[23]

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17. *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana, etc.*, by Mr. Priaulx, London, 1873.
18. *Monumentum Ancyranum* edited by Mommsen, Chap. 31.
19. *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 399-405.
20. *Lives of Kannada Poets*, Intro., p. xi.
21. *J. R. A. S.* for 1904, p. 45.
22. *Oxford History of India*: Vincent Smith (1920), Intro. xi.
23. *Ib.*, p. 144.

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The country was known as Dravida. Limyrike—Damirike—*i.e.*, Damir-Ike, referred to in the *Periplus*,[24] is, according to Bishop Caldwell, the Tamil country. At that time, beyond Barygaza (Broach), the adjacent coast extended in a straight line north to south and was called Dachina-Bades.[25]

The antiquity of the Kannada language is well known. The word 'Karnata' occurs in Varahamihira's *Brihatsamhita*, a work of the sixth century. It is also found in Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara* due perhaps to its mention in the *Paisachi Brihatkatha* of Gunadhya. This reference goes back to the earliest days of the Christian era. A Tamil poem of the second century A.D., *Silappadikaram*, refers to Kannadar.[26] Speaking of a Karnata dynasty in Nepal, the Nepalese Chronicle, *Swayabhupurana*, refers to a Karnata king Nanyadeva, who conquered the whole country in Sravana Sudi 7 of Nepal Samvat 9 or Saka Samvat 811, *i.e.*, 889 A.D., who ruled at Bhatgam and was succeeded by his son Gangadeva who was followed by his son Narasimha-deva. Dr. R. Shama Sastri, from a reference to the Ganga rulers of Mysore, is inclined to suggest that the reference may be to the Ganga king called Nanniyadeva, who was also known as Bhutuga.[27]

According to the Ceylonese Chronicle, *Mahawanso*, in the third century B.C., on the despatch of missionaries to foreign parts after the third Convocation, for the establishment of Buddhism, the thêra Mahadeva was deputed to Mahishamandala, and the thêra Rakkita to Wanawase, *i.e.*, Banavase just outside the borders of the Sorab taluk, in the Shimoga district.[28] Banavase, the capital of the Kadamba kingdom, is mentioned in the edicts of Asoka, and was known as Vaijayanti or Jayanti. Asoka's mission to Mysore gains confirmation from his inscriptions at Brahmagiri, Siddapura and Jatinga Ramesvara Hill, in the Molakalmuru taluk of the Chitaldroog district.

The Kadambas were of Brahmin descent and an independent dynasty ruling in the districts now comprising North and South Kanara and western Mysore, up to the sixth century A.D. Mayuravarman, the first king of the Kadambas, conquered the country by fighting the Pallavas who must have succeeded the Nagas.[29] A Banavase inscription, said to belong to the first or second century A.D.[30] calls the country round Nagakhanda. A lead coin found in 1888,* at Chandravalli near Chitaldroog bears the name of Sadakana-Katalaya-Maharathi. An inscription of Malavalli, Shikarpur

24. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, by W. H. Schoff (1912), Longmans Green & Co., § 53, p. 205.
25. *Ib.*, p. 43, § 50.
26. *Lives of Kannada Poets*, Intro. xv.
27. *Mys. Arch. Rep. for* 1926, pp. 26-27.
28. See chap. XII.
29. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (1920), p. 57.
30. *Mysore and Coorg*: B. L. Rice, p. 202.

* Now in the Museum, Bangalore.

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aluk, Shimoga district,[31] belongs to the second year of Haritaputa-Vinhukonda-Chutakula Manda-Satakarni, king of Vaijayanti and the Banavase inscription referred to is of his 12th year. This king had a daughter who joined her son in the making of a gift to a Naga. The son was called Sata or Sivaskanda-Naga-Sri. The lady was the wife of a Maharathi.[32] From these, Mons. Dubreuil concludes that the Chutus succeeded the Andhras in Mysore and in Aparanta near Bombay. Sivaskanda-Naga-Sri may have ruled over the territory of Chitaldroog.[33] His name was remembered even in the time of the Kadambas.[34] Further, coins containing the image of a ship with two masts are found almost exclusively on the coast between Madras and Cuddalore, with the legend Sri-Pulamāvi (Rapson). The Ujjain symbol indicates the Satavahana dynasty, who therefore ruled over Kanchi. Again, another inscription of the last king of that dynasty, a Pulamāvi, shows that prince Skanda-Naga was his great general. Nagas were powerful when the Satavahana dynasty came to an end. One of these royal families of Naga origin took their place and were called Chutus. Almost all the ancient Pallava kings were their contemporaries and ultimately succeeded them.[35] Referring to the existence of Indians in Armenia between B.C. 130 and A.D. 300, Mr. J. Kennedy says that two Indian chiefs, Gisane (Kisane) and Demetr (Temetr), rebelling unsuccessfully against the king Dinaskhe (Dinaskey), fled westward with their clan and found shelter with Valarshak, or Valarsaces, the first Arsacide Monarch of Armenia (149-127 B.C.). They founded Vishap or Dragon (Town). In the neighbouring town of Ashishat, the pantheon of all the gods of Armenia, they set up replicas of the idols they worshipped in India. Fifteen years later, they were murdered by the king. Their sons Kouar (Guevar), Meltes (Meghtes), and Horian continued to hold the canton of Taron and divided the land between themselves. Three towns were founded and temples built. In 304 A.D. St. Gregory appeared and overturned their faith, baptising over five thousand idolaters. Vishap in Armenian being Nagpur, these people must have been Naga worshippers.[36]

Banaouasei is mentioned by Ptolemy.[37] Hiuen Tsiang's Kou-Kin-Na-Pu-Lo is said to refer to it. If so, Buddhism was well established in this part of the country.[38]

Like Banavase, Punnata is referred to by Lassen. Ptolemy says beryl is found there. Col. Yule in his map of Ancient India places it near Seringapatam, about seventy miles to the south-east.[39] According to Mr. Rice,

31. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, Sk. 263.
32. *Kanheri Inscription*, No. 1021 of Prof. Luden's list.
33. *Epigraphia Indica*, VII, p. 51.
34. *Dubreuil*, pp. 48-56.
35. *Ib.*, p. 47.
36. *J. R. A. S.* (1904), p. 309.
37. *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, by J. W. McCrindle, p. 178.
38. *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, by Beal (Trubner's Oriental Series), p. 146.
39. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 13.

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Punnata was the name of an ancient division in the extreme south of the old Kongu kingdom, at a later date called Padinad. As regards beryl, the best beryls are, according to Pliny, those which have the greenness of pure sea-water, and come from India, seldom found elsewhere. Padiyur[40] in Onarapuram taluk, Coimbatore district, contained mines which were almost the only source[41] known at the time for good beryls. Few gems were better appreciated by Romans or Indians. Vaniyambadi in the Salem district was also said to possess a mine (R. Sewell).

Tamil Land.

Outside Banavase and Punnata, other references in ancient works happened to be to the towns on the west coast. Those we are concerned with were included in one or other of the kingdoms of the Tamil land, and the Tamil land of the earlier days was much more extensive than now where the Tamil language is spoken and included the Kannada, Malayalam and Tulu-speaking countries. Ceylon was in close touch with the Tamil-speaking mainland. No doubt, the Telugu-speaking country was noted for its cotton manufactures and diamond mines but commerce supplied the wealth required for civilized life and the Dravidian was not afraid to cross the seas. The sea-borne foreign trade of the Tamil states was due to its wealth in gold, pearls, conch shells, pepper, beryls and choice cotton goods.[42]

Wealthy cities sprang up in the south. Their material civilization was of a high degree and attracted the attention of other powers. Megasthenes heard of the power of the Pandyan kingdom, and the names of the states of Pandya, Chera and Chola are mentioned in Asoka's edicts.[43] Asoka mentioned a fourth minor kingdom Keralaputra, later on absorbed in the Pandyan kingdom.

While the Mauryan Empire, even during Asoka's days, did not extend beyond northern Mysore, and the Kushān and Gupta empires were confined to the north of India, the Andhras who were reckoned powerful even in the time of Magasthenes and whose historical dynasty may have been established about the time of Asoka's death, are found exercising authority in the regions of the Western Ghats soon afterwards.[44] Their dominion stretched right across the Deccan from sea to sea and they engaged in wars with both the dynasties of the Western Satraps, *viz.*, the early Kshaharata line with its capital in the Western Ghats and the somewhat later family ruling in Ujjain. Both the Satrap dynasties were of foreign origin, and associated with the Sakas.[45] The Andhra kings assumed the position of protectors of Hinduism

40. 60 miles from the Mysore frontier, (R. Sewell).
41. *Early History of India*, Vincent Smith, p. 400. 42. *Ox. His. Ind.*, pp. 14-15.
43. The Second Rock Edict of Asoka. See *Asoka*: Vincent A. Smith, p. 115.
44. *Ox His. India*, p. 119.
45. "Traces of a Scythic descent are to be found among the Kattees of Kattywar at this day"—Letter from Sir G. le. G. Jacob, read at the Royal Asiatic Society. Feb. 19, 1872.

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and of the caste institution. The most powerful of the later Andhras was Gautamīputra Yagna Srī who reigned about A.D. 173-202.

The Pandyan kingdom[46] extended from Nelcynda to Komar,[47] its western boundary being the southern range of the Western Ghats,[48] and with the increase in the direct trade with the west, the name Pandion became better known at Alexandria than that of Porus and ultimately took its place. About 20 B. C. the Pandions were the only Indians who had realized[49] the advantages of a European alliance. The 'Pandion' of the first Roman embassy was said to be a Rana of Ougein. Lythic records in the Pandya country are in the alphabet of the Asokan period. Buddhist faith had been firmly established in the very centre of Malabar, in a place called Sri-Mula-Vasam, now under the sea. As in the early coinage of the Greeks, the heraldic symbol served with the Pandion as a stamp of authority and a fish was used for the purpose. Roman soldiers were enlisted in the service of the Pandions and other Tamil kings.[50] Their tents were guarded by powerful Yavanas.[51] Yavana ladies are said to have carried arrows and given them to the kings when required while hunting, etc.[52] In the *Mahabharata*, reference can be found to the *Yavana* wives of Saindhava.

While the Pandyan kingdom, the earliest of the three Tamil states, extended beyond the Ghats and included Travancore,[53] it was later on divided before the time of the Asokan inscriptions.[53a] Before the fourth century A.D. the Chera dominions comprised the western coast known as Kerala as far as Gokarna and Goa, and Kerala was administered by Viceroys residing at Muziris (Cranganore).[54] The coast country from and beyond the Pandion kingdom was the Chola, *i.e.*, Coromandel, the largest, richest and the most prosperous—the Ma'abar of the Saracens. The Chola fleet sailed up to the mouths of the Irawady and the Ganges and to the distant Malayan Archipelago.[55]

The most important of the highways of the ancient world were those that joined Nineveh and Babylon to the Deccan and Pataliputra, or Egypt and Arabia to Ceylon and China.[56] The Yue-Chi, Indo-Scythian or Kushān kings of the first and second centuries A.D., evidently maintained active commercial relations with the Roman empire, while they attempted at the

46. *Periplus*, p. 80, § 54, p. 211.
47. *i.e.*, is included the Tinnevelly district and extended as far north as the Palghat gap.
48. *Mt. Bettigo of Ptolemy*, p. 59.
49. *Ancient Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*: Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji, pp. 137-8.
50. *Early His. Ind.*, pp. 400-401.
51. *Cf. Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, by Kanakasabhai.
52. This information is given to me by a Kannada scholar who prefers anonymity.
53. *Periplus*, § 54, p. 211.
53(a) *Ib.*, p. 238.
54. Eliot, *Coins of India*, p. 3.
55. *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 144.
56. *Footfalls of Indian History*, by Sister Nivedita, p. 94.

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same time to extend their trade eastwards.[57] Maritime activity prior to the days of the Portuguese was confined to commerce and no thought was given to occupation or conquest. From Southern India were exported goods by sea to the Roman provinces, or through the overland routes in the north, and were paid for with Roman gold.[58]

In ancient times, parts of the west coast were called the Pirate Coast. Ariake in Ptolemy's time was divided among three chiefs, one of whom belonged to the dynasty of Sadineis and ruled the wealthy commercial people occupying the sea-board. According to the *Periplus*, Sandanes, after becoming master of Kalliena (Kalyana), formerly of the house of Saraganes the Elder, subjected its trade to the severest restrictions. Thus, if Greek vessels entered its port even accidentally, they were seized and sent under guard to Barygaza, the seat of authority.[59] Lassen suggests Sandanes to have been the agent or representative and Saraganes one of the great Satakarni or Andhra dynasty.

The coast of Konkan was well known as the pirate coast. It extended from about Chaul to Nitra, the Mangaruta of Kosmas and the present Mangalore. Richly freighted merchantmen continually plying along the coast, particularly those which left the Egyptian ports for India, carried troops on board well armed for their defence. As against this statement of Pliny, Mr. Campbell suggests that by *Ariake Andron Pieraton*, Ptolemy did not mean the pirates at all but was referring to the Andhra-bhrityas who ruled over the Konkan and some parts of the Deccan.[60] J. W. McCrindle, however, says the reference is to the pirates. According to him, from the few words in the *Periplus*[61]—and in these places there are pirates—the inference is that the south Konkan and Kanara were more particularly infested by pirates. This is the fourth minor or Satiya kingdom of the Asokan inscriptions.

The antiquity of Hindu trade in East Africa is established by Speke.[62] The Puranas describe the mountains of the moon and the Nyanza lakes, and refer to the source of the Nile as 'The Country of Amara'—the name of the district lying north of the Victoria Nyanza. The interested reader is referred to a most illuminating article contributed to the *Asiatic Researches*, instituted in Bengal, Vol. III (1799), No. XIII on Egypt and other countries adjacent to the Nile from the *Ancient Books of the Hindus* by Lt. Francis Wilford. On page 297 of that volume, he says—"It appears, indeed, that a free communication

57. *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 141.

58. C. J. Brown: *Coins of India* (Heritage of India Series), p. 34. Pliny laments the drain of Roman gold, year by year.

59. *Ptolemy*, p. 39.

60. *Bombay Gazetteer*, (Thana District), Vol. II, p. 415 n.

61. § 53, pp. 203-204. 62. *Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, Chaps. I, V and X.

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formerly subsisted between Egypt and India, since Ptolemy acknowledges himself indebted for much information to many learned *Indians* whom he had seen at Alexandria; and Lucian informs us that pilgrims from *India* resorted to Hierapolis in Syria; which place is called in the Puranas, at least it appears to me, *Mahabhaga*, or the station of the Goddess *Devi*, with that epithet. Even to this day the *Hindus* occasionally visit, as I am assured, the two *Jwala-Mukhis*, or springs of Naptha in Cusha-Dwipa within; the first of which dedicated to the same goddess, with the epithet *Anayasa*, is not far from the Tigris; and Strabo mentions a temple, on that very spot, inscribed to the Goddess *Anaias*." The second one, a spring with a flaming mouth, is near Baku, when the Hindus attempted to visit the sacred islands in the West. He also refers to the account of Cornelius Nepos that certain Indi or Hindus were shipwrecked on the shores of the Baltic, but conjectures it was a pilgrimage,[63] while it was in the course of a voyage of commerce according to McCrindle that these Indians were driven by storm into Germany, and Q. Mettelus Celer received them from the king of the Suevi.[64] Lt. Wilford says that he believes in the assertion of the Brahmin Pandits, after examining their sacred books, that a great intercourse anciently subsisted between India and countries in the West.[65]

Lt. Wilford has taken enormous trouble to decipher the Puranic legends regarding Egypt and has given maps illustrating his identification.

Calitata was Ethiopia, Nubia and Egypt; Nile takes its rise from the lake of the Gods—Amara—in the region of Sharma, between the mountains of Ajagara and Sitanta, parts of Somagiri or Mountain of the Moon, etc.[66]

In page 327 *et. seq.* of the same volume, we find a detailed reference to the Krishna legend and the Yaduvamsa. "During the infancy, however, of Krishna, the persecuted[67] Yadavas emigrated from India, and retired to the mountain of the exterior Cusha-Dwipa or Abbysinia." Their leader was Yatu and they are called Yadavas. The mountains are called after them. The people are now called Ourémidré or Ardwemidré, *i.e.*, the land of Arwe, the first king of that country. The Indian emigrants are described as a blameless, pious and sacred race and the genuine Ethiopians are said by Stephanus of Byzantium, by Eusebius, by Philostratus, by Eustathius, and others to have come originally from India under the guidance of Actus, or Yatu.[68] I must leave you to the volume of Wilford for any detailed references; I may, however, in passing, invite your attention to the following:[69] "Such have been, according to the Puranas, the various emigrations from India to Cusha-Dwipa; and hence part of Africa was called India by the

63. P. 297. 64. McCrindle: *Ancient India*, p. 110. 65. P. 298.
66. P. 303. 67. By Kamsa. 68. P. 328. 69. P. 367.

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Greeks. The Nile, says Theophylact, flows through Libya, Ethiopia and India. The people of Mauritania are said, by Strabo, to have been Indians or Hindus, and Abbysinia was called Middle India in the time of Marco Paolo. Where Ovid speaks of Andromeda, he asserts that she came from India; but .....the scene of her adventures was the region adjacent to the Nile. The country between the Caspian and Euxine had the names both of India and Ethiopia. Even Arachosia is called White India by Isidorus;.....Yellow India of the Persians, and the yellow Indians of the Turkish geographers (are mentioned).....we are positively assured by Herodotus that the Oriental Ethiopians were Indians; and hence we may infer that India was known to the Greeks, in the age of Homer, by the name of Eastern Ethiopia....."

The Hindu trade with Abbysinians, etc., in existence before the birth of Christ is also referred to in the *Periplus*.[70] Indians had also settled in Arabia.[71] In the early centuries of the Christian era, they were settling down on the Chinese coast. Berossus writing *c.* 350 B.C. says crowds of strangers lived in Babylon. Babylon, after its destruction by Sennacherib, was rebuilt and beautified (seventh and sixth centuries B.C.). It overthrew its rival Nineveh. With Nebuchadnezzar, she became the wonder of the world and the greatness lay in her vast and expanding trade with the East.

The Greeks must have heard of India and the river Indus as early as the sixth century B.C. as Hecateus refers to it in his *Geographical Treatise*.[72] In the fourth century B.C. Alexander's tutor wanted him to get him an Indian scholar. Pythagoras who had visited Egypt was considered to be a disciple of the Brahmins.[73] According to Plutarch, Homer read in Asia and the children of the Persians, Susians and Gedrocians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. One Kalanos, a Gymnosophist at Taxila, left India with Alexander the Great, and burned himself on a funeral pyre at Sousa. The founding of Alexander's Empire brought to the East an expansion of Greek culture and promoted an exchange of commodities. In the words of Plutarch, Alexander's deeds civilized Asia. Diodorus (later half of first century B.C. and early A.D.) refers to the king of Palibothra as a lover of the Greeks. Dio Chrysostom's (the age of Plutarch) Orations confirm that Homer's poems were sung by the Indians who had translated them into their own language. Aelian, a contemporary of Philostrastus, refers to Indians and the kings of Persia as translating and singing Homer. Apollonius of Tyana travelled with Damus and was for four years a guest of the Brahmins in the

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70. § 14, p. 87; § 53, pp. 203-204. 71. Lassen: *Ind. Alter.*, II, p. 150.

72. Prior to Alexander, India was known to the Greeks as a country which by sea was to be reached by way of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf—*India as known to the Ancient World* by Gauranganath Banerji, p. 10.

73. *Frag. His.*, III, §§ 238-239. See Apollonius of Tyana's *Indian Travels*.

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first half century A.D. Born about 4 B.C., he came to explore the wonders of India and get acquainted with the learning and wisdom of the Brahmins. He was a Pythagorian philosopher and met Iarchas at Taxila and disputed with Indian Gymnosophists. He reached India through Khorasan, the Hindukush and the kingdom of Kabul. The *Periplus* of the Erythrean Sea (81, 96 A.D.) was a manual of Roman, or to be more exact, Egyptian trade with India. The geography of Ptolemy (A.D. 138, 161) belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius. The expedition of Alexander and the Indica of Arrian belongs to the period A.D. 150-160. Strabo who was born about 63 B.C. and who was living in A.D. 21, Pliny who laments the annual drain of Roman gold to India, *viz.*, 550 mill. sesterces (80 lakhs) have already been referred to. The life of Apollonius of Tyana was published by Philostrastus after A.D. 217. Clemens of Alexandria (*d.* 220 A.D.), Archelaus of Carrhe (278 A.D.), Hierocles who visited and travelled in India in the fifth century A.D. and describes the Brahmins as abstaining from flesh meat, are among the others who wrote on India.

Great cities in the East sprang up and by means of their intellectual and material civilization were destined to be the centres of a new empire. Moneys long stored up circulated in the markets; the philosophy of the Vedanta and the Upanishads as well as the Astronomy of the Chaldæans became available to the Greeks.[74]

Several distinct trade routes on sea, as by land, sprang up and it was found that the sea voyage round the Makrân coast was not difficult. Exchange of ideas between India and Europe became more frequent with the formation of Greek kingdoms in Western Asia. About the middle of the third century B.C. was established the Graeco-Bactrian monarchy and certain Indian districts were subdued by Greek kings. The Hellenic influence on Indian art, the modification in Buddhist teaching by contact with the Greek gods, and the influence of Buddhist ideas on Christian doctrine are referred to as some of the results. 'The notions of Indian philosophy and religion which filtered into the Roman Empire flowed through channels opened by Alexander,'[75] for Europe was till then almost ignorant of India.

Egypt had become wealthy mainly owing to the Indian trade and her trade with Arabia Felix. They were carried from the ports of the Red Sea to the Mediterranean but it was not known whence the trade came. They were carried by the Arabs through the deserts to the Persian Gulf and from there to Cossier and to the Troglodytic Berenice[76] on the opposite coast.

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74. G. N. Banerji : *India*, p. 718. 75. *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 67.

76. Sea-port on the southern frontier of Egypt where the Romans met the fleet intended for India. Mussel harbour, *i.e.*, Myos Hormos or Ras Abu Somar was the principal port of Egyptian trade with India.

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In the course of these attempts at cheaper means of getting Indian products, the Greek sailors of Euergetes made a settlement in the island of Dioscorides (Socotra) in the Indian Ocean and there met the trading vessels from India and Ceylon. Greek was the only language spoken there till it fell under the Arabs.

Pliny says : " To those who are bound for India, Ocelis is the best place for embarkation. If the wind called Hippalus happens to be blowing, it is possible to arrive in forty days at the nearest mart in India, called Muziris. This, however, is not a desirable place for disembarkation, on account of the pirates which frequent its vicinity; nor is it very rich in articles of merchandise. Besides the roadstead for shipping is at a considerable distance from the shore, and the cargoes have to be conveyed in boats either for loading or discharging.

" At the time I am writing these pages, the name of the king of the place is Caelobotrus. Another port and a much more convenient one is that which lies in the territory of the people called Nelcyndi, Bacare by name. Here king Pandion used to reign, dwelling at a considerable distance from the mart in the interior, at a city known as Madeira."

By the time of Herodotus, the navigation of the Red Sea had been established. Frankincense and myrrh of Arabia Felix and cinnamon and cassia from beyond India or Ceylon were supplied. Tides are referred to as a phenomenon. Skylax's voyage from the Indus to the Persian Gulf and cotton and bamboos of India and the gold-digging ants as large as foxes are referred to.

The commerce of Ethiopia, India, Arabia and Egypt itself converged on the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria. Before the discovery of the monsoons and the time of Claudius, Indian trade through Egypt with Europe was not much. In 20 B.C. there was a mission to Augustus from 'king Pandion', the Pandya king of Madura, in southern India. Strabo attributes the embassy to a Pandion rather than a Porus but connects it with the Indian who burned himself at Athens. At Antioch, about 22 B.C., these Indian ambassadors, perhaps, were met on their way to Augustus Cæsar by Epidaphne Nicolas Damascenus and their letter of credentials was in Greek.[77] Allusions to this first Roman embassy are made by Horace in his Odes. Florus and Suetonius refer to it. Dio Cassius (194 A.D.) speaks of its reception at Samos (B.C. 22-20) and mentions Zarmanos as accompanying it. Hieronymus (A.D. 380) in his translation of the *Canon Chronicon* of Eusebius alludes to it but places it in 26 B.C. (third year of the 188th Olympiad). Plutarch refers to an Indian in the suite of Augustus who put an end to his life and to his monument being known as the Indian's tomb. " Zarmanochegas, an Indian, a native of Bargosa, having immortalized himself according to the custom of his country, here lies"

77. Alexander Polyhistor : *Frag. His.*, § 91,4-419.

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—is the inscription at Athens on the tomb of the Indian. Damascenus suggests he was either accompanying the embassy or was attached to it though the letter was stated to be in the name of Porus. According to Apollonius of Tyana, he may be a Hindu, bearing a name Zarmanos Chegan, Sanskrit Çramanacharya, which points him out as of the Buddhist faith, and as proved by his death, a priest earnest in his faith. His companions may have also been Hindus, and perhaps the representatives of a Hindu and possibly a Buddhist prince.[78] "Whether because he was of the Sophists and therefore out of emulation, or whether because he was old and it was the custom of his country, or whether as a show to the Athenians and Augustus who had gone to Athens, expressed the determination to die and put an end to his existence. And having been firstly initiated in the mysteries of the two gods held out of their due course for the initiation of Augustus, he afterwards threw himself into the burning pile."[79]

The period of the first Roman embassy was the time when India was over-run by the Yue-chi. About 25 B.C. Kujula Kadphises (Yue-chi) subdued the modern Afghanistan and about A.D. 10, Huomo Kadphises conquered north-west India. The Indo-Scythian Empire followed in the wake. The Scythian, though subject to the Parthian kings, occupied the lower Indus. "The Buddhist influence thus spread in Asia and Eastern Turkistan became the bridge on which the Indian manners and customs and above all Indian religion passed both to China and Central Asia."[80] Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian princes continued to govern the principalities in the Kabul and on the North-West Frontier. Gondophernes reigned between A.D. 20 and A.D. 48. The name is said to be Parthian or Persian. St. Thomas, according to early legends, is considered to have preached Christianity in his dominions. There is also another tradition according to which the Apostle Thomas was martyrized at Mailāpm (Mylapore) near Madras.[81]

Trade between south India and the Roman Empire was extensive in the first and second centuries A.D. It first started in the luxuries of life[82] and later extended to cotton and industrial products. The discovery of the monsoon helped its expansion. It was largest from Augustus to Nero (A.D. 68). It was checked and perhaps temporarily stopped by Caracalla's massacre of the people of Alexandria in A.D. 215. Under the Byzantines, the trade was with south-west India, *i.e.*, Travancore and south-west coast, and commerce with the Deccan and the interior declined.[83]

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78. P. 78. 79. *Cf.* Dio Cassius. 80. G. N. Banerji : *India*, pp. 33 and 36.
81. V. A. Smith agrees with the later tradition. *Ox. His. India*, p. 126.
82. *e.g.* pepper, spices, fine muslin, perfumes, unguents, pearls, precious stones.
83. In the Flavian period there was exclusive trade with the Malabar coast. G. N. Banerji : *India*, p. 24. *Cf.* also *J.R.A.S.* (*1904*), p. 591. [Sewell concludes from coins discovered in India.]

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The second embassy belongs to the first half century A.D. According to the *Periplus* it was in 41 A.D. Pliny gives the story of the second embassy. It was the result of an accident. A freedman of Annius Plocamus[84] was carried off by a gale to Hippuros,[85] a port of Ceylon, where he was hospitably and kindly received. The Raja of Ceylon learnt the principles of the Roman justice from him and the visit culminated in an alliance. Rachias and three others[86] were sent to Rome. Plocamus learnt the language of the country he visited in about six months. On the next occasion, Sopater was sent from Rome and presented to the Ceylonese monarch, who was called Chandra Mukha Siva (41-52 A.D.)[87] The ambassadors from Ceylon in Rome spoke a language which had not previously been heard there and which the freedman of Plocamus alone could interpret and with which even he was but imperfectly acquainted.

It must be pointed out that Donald Fergusson suggests Pliny's Taprobanian embassy did not come from Ceylon but Sumatra was Taprobane.[88]

An Indian embassy during Trajan's time (107 A.D.) is said to have been present at the shows given by the Emperor to his people. There is a suggestion that it may have been despatched by Kadphises II (Yue-chi) announcing his conquest of North-Western India.[89]

Strabo says: A certain Indian, as he was discovered to be afterwards, was brought to the king of Egypt by the coast guards of the recesses of the Arabian Gulf, who said they had found him half dead and alone on a stranded ship, but that they did not know who he was or whence he came, since they did not understand his language, and he could not speak Koptic. The king Eurgetes II (B.C. 146-117 ?) gave him to the charge of the man who would teach him Greek. After he had learnt Greek, the Indian explained that on his voyage from India, by a strange mischance he mistook his course and reached Egypt in safety, but only after having lost all his companions by starvation. His story was doubted: he then promised to guide the king's men to India. Eudoxus of Cyzicus went to and returned from India with a cargo of perfumes and precious stones. He went again a second time and came

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84. *Periplus*, p. 8.

85. The Ophir of Solomon. *Cf.* Lassen, Kudremala—a port of Ceylon, on the Arippo-ar. Ptolemy (p. 44) places a Hippocura on the Malabar coast. Others refer to Ghoda-bandar on the Thana Strait. Ghoregaon in Kolaba (Mr. Campbell). Many places could so claim the identification. If the Greek traders did not translate but adapted native names to their own pronunciation and idiom, what would be the result?

86. They told Pliny of the Serae, who dwelt beyond the Mounts of Emodi, whom Rachia's father had visited and who would trade with and show themselves to the people. Referring to this in *J.R.A.S.* (1904), J Kennedy says: The Cheras occupied Mysore at this time; their territory extended to the sea. The ambassador's reference to a fair race, etc., compares with the description of Sulemain in the ninth century A.D.

87. G.N. Banerji: *India*, p. 23. 88. *J.R.A.S.* (1904), p. 541. 89. *Periplus*, p. 187.

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across people whom he had to conciliate and made a list of some of their words. He set sail again a third time on a great ship with two masted boats as those of pirates. He put music girls on board, and physicians and other artisans. He finally came to people who spoke the same words as those he had made a list of before and learnt they were the same men as other Ethiopians and neighbours of the kingdom of Bogus. He did not reach India.[90] According to Strabo, young female musicians of Western origin were articles of import, certain to please in India. Professionally there was little to choose between them and the 'young well-made girls intended for debauchery' offered by the Greeks to the kings of the ports of Gujrat along with musical instruments.[91]

Clemens of Alexandria (192--217 A.D.) says that Brahmins despised death and set no value on life because they believed in the transmigration of souls and the Semnoi (Buddhist Sramanas) worshipped a kind of pyramid, beneath which they imagined that the bones of a divinity of some kind lay buried. He distinguished clearly between Bramanai and Brachmanai.[92] He referred to Brahmins as neither drinking wine nor tasting animal food.

Callistratus (A.D. 250) describes a statue of a drunken and reeling Hindu.

Archelaus of Carrhe (278 A.D.) and St. Jerome both mention Buddha by name. India and Buddha occur in his account of his disputation with the heresiarch Manes at Chana in Mesopotamia and Cedeenus refers to Manes as a Brahman. Buddha's story was given in the eighth century A.D. by John of Damascus as the life of a Christian Saint. Buddha himself has been canonized by the Christian Church as St. Josephat (ಜೋಧಿಸತ್ವ) and included in the mythology of Pope Gregory XIII. According to Richard Garbe and V. A. Smith, Buddhism influenced the early development of Christianity which in its turn coloured some of the later Hindu doctrines and creeds.[93]

Dionysaics (A.D. 360—420) is a poem in forty-eight books written by Nonnus of Panoplis in Egypt to celebrate the triumphs of Bacchus and his conquest of India. It is often regarded as a Western version of the *Mahabharata*. Bacchus encounters and makes drunk and captive an Indian army under the Astrais in Bithynia near the lake Astracis. Later on, he meets and defeats, in Syria, a powerful army commanded by the son-in-law of the

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90. Strabo, Book 2, 3, 3-4. Strabo did not believe the story he narrated.

91. *Ind. Ant.* (1904), Vol. XXXIII, p. 12.

92. The reference in ancient works to *Brahmanai Magoi* is said to mean sons of the Brahmans (G. C. Campbell). It is further said that by this reference Ptolemy implied a colony of Persian priests settled in India or Brahmans who had adopted the tenets of the Magi. It is interesting to recollect the existence of *Haiga Makkalu* in the Shimoga district.

93. *Cf.* Kalidas Nag : *Greater India.*

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Indian king Deriades (Duryodhana).[94] After the Syrian encounter, Blemmys, king of the Erythrean Indus but subject to Deriades, submits to Bacchus and settles with his people in Ethiopia.

Thus we find that for thousands of years before the Greeks grew out of the savage state or prior to the Phœnician exploits in the Mediterranean or the Atlantic, the countries around the Persian Gulf were the home of civilization and culture. Gradually, Egypt and Ancient India entered into the group but the centre of trade continued as before. The growth of civilization in Ancient India was responsible for an active merchant marine trading to the Euphrates and the Tigris and to the Eastern Seas. The Greeks overcame the jealousy of the Arab traders on the African coast in course of time, who, however, mostly retained the commerce of the Red Sea. Precious stones, spices and incense went in increasing quantities for the service of the Egyptian gods, from India[95].

In course of time, the centre of gravity shifted beyond the valley of the Nile and the Euphrates to the peoples of the north and the succeeding centuries witnessed the struggle for the discovery and mastery of the routes through which Indian trade passed[96]. Gradually, the Romans acquired a taste for the precious things of the East. They had to pay tolls to the Parthian Empire and to the Arabic kingdoms. They tried to avoid it and get control of the sea-borne route to India.

Maritime activity was chiefly in the hands of the Dravidians though the Aryans had a share in it. The Indian traders settling in Arabia, Africa and on the coast of China must have included a large percentage of Dravidians. As early as the third century B.C., Berossus has recorded the presence of crowds of strangers in Babylon.

The division of the Greek nation, occupying an important social position in the Roman Empire, comprised some of the Macedonians; and the cities of Alexandria and Antioch, the second and third cities in the Empire for wealth, population, size and influence were chiefly peopled by Greeks.[97] Philosophy lent a splendour to the Greek name. The teachings of the Indian sages were echoed and reflected in the Western world.[98] After the Antonines, the real representatives of the intellectual supremacy of the Hellenic race were to be found in the cities of Asia, Egypt and Syria.[99] Greek art is said

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94. He was known in Greece through the Greeks who had visited India or the Hindus who visited Alexandria. We also know that the relations of the Bactrian Greeks with the Hindus were many and intimate. Dionysius is Gisane or Krishna. *Cf.* Lt. Wilford's article on 'Egypt and the Nile' already referred to.

95. *Periplus*, Intro., pp. 3—4.

96. *Ib.*, Intro., p. 4.

97. George Finlay: *Greece under the Romans*, pp. 84—5.

98. G. N. Banerji: *India*, p. 15.

99. Finlay, p. 102.

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to be reflected in the Gandhara School of sculpture and to have lived on for many years till its absorption in the hands of Indians.[100] The Indian custom of ornamenting golden vessels was adopted in the sphere of Greek culture and the Indian Jacinth became a favourite material with lapidaries. Indian precious stones and Indian fables influenced Greek travellers' tales.[101]

The Greek invader found in India an ancient and highly developed society and much as it is to-day, in the matter of living, usages and customs, in size and population, etc.[102] In the wake of Alexander's invasions, Greek settlements were established in the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier and the existence of the Bactrian kingdom and its off-shoots between 246 B.C. and 50 A.D. helped their development.[103] The Indo-Bactrians were even said to be the Goanese of antiquity.[104] Saka invasions from the second century B.C. resulted in the establishment of Saka kingdoms in the Punjab, at Muttra and the Kathiawar Peninsula.[105]

Greek authors of 300 B.C. refer to caste and ceremonial purity[106] as relating to the Hindus. Regulations of the Mauryans regarding 'finding lodging for foreigners, to keep them under observation, to escort them out of the country, and in case of sickness or death to provide for the treatment or burial of the stranger, whose property they were obliged to protect and account for' implies constant intercourse with outside states and visits to the capital on business by strangers. The Mauryan Empire levied tolls on trade and the identity stamp was called *Abhijnana Mudra*.[107]

Buddhist and Brahminical writings testify to the existence of trade in the fifth century B.C. with the Persian Gulf, the coasts of Arabia and Africa.[108] Ujjain (capital of Avanti, *i.e.*, Malva) in the seventh century B.C. is one of the seven sacred cities, rivalling Benares, according to the discoveries in Taxila.[109]

This sea trade in the Indian Ocean was carried on largely in native Dravidian craft. It had great influence in the interchange of ideas as well as products. The goods sought after by the foreign merchants on the Indian coast were pearls from the fisheries of the Tampraparni river in the Tinnevelly district; beryls, gold[110] and corundum from Mysore and Coimbatore; pepper and the other spices from the Malabar coast. Muziris or Cranganore,

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100. G. N. Banerji · *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 15; *cf.* E. B. Havel and Sister Nivedita dispute the theory of this influence.

101. *Arts of the Greeks*, Vol. I. From the *Cabinet Cyclopædia* (1833), p. 20.

102. *Anglo-American Magazine* for 1901, pp. 294—306.

103. *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 8.

104. *Ib.*, p. 143.

105. *Ib.*, p. 8.

106. *Ib.*, p. 37.

107. *Ib.*, p. 88.

108. *Periplus*, § 54, p. 209.

109. *Ib.*, p. 44.

110. Pliny mentions gold on the Malabar Coast, apparently from the mines in Mysore; *cf. Periplus*, § 63, p. 259.

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and Bakarai or Vaikkarai, the haven of Kottayam, in the Travancore State were the principal ports where, as in several other places, there is reason to believe, Roman subjects were living. Korkai on the Tampraparni river was the chief centre for the pearl fisheries. Puhar, also named Kaveripaddinam, then at the mouth of the river Cauvery was for some time a rich and thriving port. It, with the other ancient ports there, is now desolate owing to an elevation in the coast line.[111] "The utter destruction of the once wealthy commercial cities of Korkai and Kayal on the Tinnevelly coast, now miles from the sea and buried in sand dunes, ceases to be a mystery," if we remember "that the coast level has risen. In other localities, some not very distant from the places named, the converse has happened, and the sea has advanced, or in other words, the land has sunk."[112] In either case the signs of the existence of early trade have been obliterated.

We may conclude that in all probability the earliest inhabitants of India settled on the ancient high and dry land of the Peninsula, and not in the northern plains.[113] According to Kautilya also the commerce with the south was of greater importance than that with the north, the more precious commodities coming from the Peninsula. He says that while the northern regions supplied only blankets, skins, and horses, gold, diamonds, pearls, other gems, and conch shells came from the south. The Tampraparni river, the Pandya country and Ceylon are named. Textiles came from the Konkan. Commerce by land and sea with foreign countries was regulated by many ordinances, and passports were required by all persons entering or leaving India.[114]

Evidence is also furnished by the Dravidian alphabet, supposed to be from a semitic (Himyaritic, or Phœnician) original, and to date from about 1000 B.C. against the Aryan of Kharosthi which was formulated about B.C. 500 after the conquest.[115]

Coins.

Evidence derived from the existence of coins in India next claim our attention. Coins of Azes (50 B.C.) contain the names of sovereigns with proper inflexions and they could not have been copied from any existing die. This suggests a familiarity with the Greek language in the north-western provinces of India and if the suggestion that the first embassy to Rome came from the Punjab be accepted, the Greek language of the credentials can be easily explained. Even the little knowledge we possess regarding the Bactrians, Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian dynasties is due to inferences from coins.[116] In

111. *Ox. His. Ind.*, pp. 143—44. 112. *Ib.*, Intro. iv. 113. *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 5.
114. *Arthasastra*, Book II, Chaps. 2, 11, 16, 28, 34; Book VII, chap. 12; *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 68.
115. R. Sewell: *Hindu Period of South India*, "Imp. Gazeteer" II, p. 322.
116. *Ox. His. Ind.*, Intro. xvii.

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Peninsular India, the Roman *aureus* circulated as currency like the British sovereign at the present day. By the time of Vespasian, the Roman coin had so naturalized itself that Indians preferred to use it.[117] Pliny lamented the drain of Roman gold to India.

In *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, R. Sewell has detailed the discoveries of Roman coins in South India. They were largest in the neighbourhood of the beryl mines in the Coimbatore district and the adjacent parts of the Madura district. The articles of trade with which Rome was concerned were also the products of South India. The number of coins, besides hoards, discovered there amounted to 612 gold and 1187 silver coins.[118]

MADURA DISTRICT.

1839. A Solidus of *Z*eno.

1856. Sixty-three coins were discovered at Caliempootoor in Iyempully taluk, a place adjacent to the boundary of the Madura and Coimbatore districts.

Dr. Bidie discovered them. They range from B.C. 8 when Drusus was Senior Consul to Commodus A.D. 180-193.

COIMBATORE DISTRICT.

Polachy : 1800. Coins of Augustus and Tiberius were discovered.

1810. Do. They were a potful.

1817. A silver coin of Augustus, and punch-marked Buddhist coins in Pandukulis[119], were found.

Karoor : 1806. Five gold coins of Augustus, Tiberius, Antonia and Claudius were found.

1878. Rev. H. Little discovered a hoard of five hundred coins.

Vellaloor : Four miles east of Coimbatore. 1842. 522 Roman *denarii* of Augustus and Tiberius, including some of Caligula and Claudius were found.

Ootacamund : 1827. A gold Roman coin was discovered by John Sullivan.

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117. Mommsen : *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, 300.
118. See p. 525 ; *cf.* Eliot : *Coins of India;* E. Thurstan : *Catalogue of Coins* (No. 2).
119. *Cf.* also C. J. Brown : *Coins of India*, p. 17.

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Kannanur : 1850-1 A.D. Five coolie loads of Roman *aurei* were unearthed, by Capt. Drury, in a well-preserved state, belonging from Augustus 29 B.C. to Antoninus Pius A.D. 161.

Cuddapah District : 1838. An aureus of Trajan found.

Nellore : 12-7-1787. Alexander Davidson, Governor of Madras came by Roman coins and metals of Adrian, Faustina and some Trajans.

Sholapur : Fifteen miles from Darpal. 1840. A hoard of Roman coins—of Severus, Antoninus, Commodus, Ducius Vernes, Geta was found.

Col. Tod in 1824 stated that Greek coins were once struck in India, marking a first intermingling of eastern and western culture in India. As already remarked, currency of South India chiefly consisted of Roman gold along with the spherules.[120] Regarding the issue of lead coins, one of which is discovered and belongs to Vasishthi Putra Sri Pulamāvi (A.D. 130 about), which has on its obverse a two-masted ship, Mr. C. J. Brown suggests it was evidently intended for circulation on the Coromandel coast.[121] It is in evidence that a great Saka conqueror, Nahapāna, who founded a kingdom on the Western Ghats in the first century A.D. also reproduced the Greek hemi-drachm.[122] About A.D. 180, Sri Yajna Satakarni struck not only the lead and billon coins as usual but restruck and imitated the silver hemi-drachms of the Satrap Nahapāna.[123] The coins also suggest the establishment of a kingdom in Malwa about A.D. 1 by Chastitana, another Saka chieftain.

The earliest coins assigned to Kurumburs, a pastoral tribe of the North Arcot district, are two-masted ship copper pieces of the third century A.D.[124] The Andhra coins showed a two-masted ship with details like those of the Gujarathi ship at Borebodur and the Persian ship at Ajanta.

From these R. Sewell is led to the conclusion that in all probability Roman merchants continued to reside in South India, either permanently or for sufficiently long periods. The discovery of Roman copper coins in large quantities suggests their daily use.[125] Roman coins may have been exchanged against the spices destined for the Roman kitchens.[126]

The Asiatic and Egyptian Greeks, by virtue of their geographical situation and for the purposes of trade, must have found it necessary to learn the languages of the countries where they lived and to get acquainted with their

120. C. J. Brown : *Coins*, p. 58.
121. *Ib.*, p. 21.
122. *Ib.*, p. 30.
123. *Ib.*, p. 21.
124. *Cf. Periplus*, p. 244.
125. *J.R.A.S.* (1904), p. 601.
126. McCrindle : *Ancient India*, p. 121.

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literature. It does not appear as if the opportunity was used to the full. Nevertheless, though knowledge was confined to the higher classes among the population of Asia and the Alexandrines, literary productions must have been addressed to a public widely dispersed and very dissimilar in tastes and habits.[127] It is quite certain, also, that Indians must have become familiar with the Greek alphabet by Panini's time (fourth century B.C.)[128]

The best elephants came to the West from India.[129] Ivory, apes, peacocks were indigenous to India and the words used in Hebrew to designate them are not Hebrew but Dravidian. An Indian peacock was sent to the king of Egypt as a present and he dedicated it to Jupiter. Export of peacocks to Babylon is referred to in the *Baveru Jataka*, a work of about 400 B.C. Rice (Oryza) is similarly derived from *arisi* in the Dravidian language.[130] Cloves and nutmegs were procurable in the early days only from the Malayan Archipelago. They went to Alexandria about A.D. 180 and the Indo-Malayan trade must have commenced subsequent to the first century A.D. as the *Periplus* does not refer to it. Sandalwood is a native of South India; likewise, ebony, blackwood and teak referred to for the first time in the *Periplus*.

Greek Colonies in India.

The foregoing makes it sufficiently clear that Greek settlements must have existed in South India on a fairly large scale. The following supplementary facts may be given.

In the proximity of Maruvarpakkam, on the beach, were the settlements of Yavana merchants where attractive articles were always exposed for sale. Here also were the quarters of foreign merchants who came from beyond the seas and who spoke various tongues. Kanakasabhai bases this information on the Tamil poems.[131] V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India* agrees and suggests the reference to be to Kaveripattanam. It is *Khaberis*, north of Tranquebar.[132]

If the high quality of Mauryan sculpture was due to a happy blending of Indian, Iranian and Hellenic factors,[133] Greeks must have resided in India forming settlements of their own. The Indo-Greek princes and people so settling in India tended to become Hinduized. A record discovered at Taxila refers to a district officer under an Indo-Greek king as a 'meridiarch', suggesting the use of Greek for official purposes. Our knowledge of English, Persian, Marathi and French confirms the belief that Greek must have been spoken at the time at the courts of the Indo-Greek kings though it may not have spread among the Indian people.[134]

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127. *Finlay:* pp. 10-11. 128. G. N. Banerji: *India*, p. 20. 129. *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 68.

130. *Periplus*, § 41, Note:—The Egyptian language contains numerous words of Sanscrit origin so much so Francis Buchanan even suggests that the Indians originally went to India from Egypt, *cf. Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III, 1799, p. 7.

131. See *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, by Kanakasabhai. 133. *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 140.

132. *Ptolemy*, p. 65. 134. *Ib.*, p. 142.

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Greek factories were probably established in the places which were most frequented by Alexandrian ships. The merchants must have consigned their goods to those places and these factories must have managed all their business with the authorities and the people.

Muziris must have been one such. There is reason to believe that Roman subjects lived at this place. Merchants used to sail from Arabian ports to Muziris in July and August and reach it in forty days, completing the return journey in December or January following. The place is identified now with Cranganore, its identification with Mangalore being a mistake. To the Christians it was the landing place of St. Thomas, the Apostle. It is the nearest port to Madura on the west coast.[134a] According to the *Periplus*,[135] it was in the kingdom of Cerebothra. It was full of ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia and the Greeks. It was located on a river. There was a temple for Augustus built there.[136]

The alleged Greek colony of Byzantium on the west coast of India is denied by McCrindle, who suggests Ptolemy's reference to it may be to Vaijayanti or Vijayadurga in the Ratnagiri district.[137]

Karur is said to have been the capital of Limyrike, where Kerobothras, *i.e.*, the Chera Keralaputra, resided.[138] In the Asokan Rock Edict, the Kerala or Chera kingdom was mentioned. It included the Malabar district with the modern Cochin and Travancore States, sometimes extending eastwards. Asoka also mentioned a fourth minor kingdom, the Satiya kingdom. "The kingdom of Satiyaputra must have adjoined Keralaputra; and since the Chandragiri river has always been regarded as the northern boundary of that province, the Satiyaputra kingdom should probably be identified with that portion of the Konkans or low lands between the Western Ghats and the sea, where the Tulu language is spoken, and of which Mangalore is the centre. The name of Kerala is still well remembered and there is no doubt that the kingdom so called was equivalent to the southern Konkans or Malabar coast. The ancient capital was Vanji,[138a] also named Karuvur, the Karoura of Ptolemy, situated close to Cranganore, which represents Muziris, the port for the pepper trade, mentioned by Pliny and the author of the *Periplus* at the end of the first century A.D.[139]

Nitra is identified with Mangalore.[140] Pliny also refers to it.

134(*a*). *J. R. A. S.* (1904), p. 601.

135. p. 51 and §54, p. 44.

136. *Cf.* V. A. Smith and Peutingerian Tables.

137. *Ptolemy*, p. 47.

138. *Ib.*, p. 49.

138(*a*) Is it the same Vanji that dates from the first century A.D. and comprises all the Jews in Travancore? Which is Pukar?

139. V. A. Smith: *Early His.*, pp. 340-1.

140. *Ptolemy*, p. 47.

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Tyndis referred to in the *Periplus* is identified with Ponnani, on the river of the same name. The river drains a rich section of the western mountains—the Annamalai Hills and it is a natural terminus for pepper of the hills and the beryls of the Coimbatore district.[141]

Bakare is identified with Kottayam in Travancore. Bakare (Ptolemy, p. 52), Becare (Pliny), Bacare (*Periplus*, 55). The *Periplus* says the kings of Bacare and Nelcynda lived in the interior.

Of the principal ports mentioned in the *Periplus* (§§ 52-3), in the Konkans, North Kanara and North Malabar, it is sufficient to mention Nelcynda. It was said to belong to the Pandyan kingdom. Pepper trade is prominently mentioned. Its situation is near Kottayam.

The Adeisathori referred to is that section of the Western Ghats extending immediately northward from the Coimbatore gap.[142]

Ujjain (Ozeni) was the capital of Malwa. It is inland from its port Barygaza and to its east. It is very prominently mentioned in Buddhist records. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang, Buddhism was on the decline here and at Barygaza, while it was flourishing in Guzerat and in the Konkan.[143] It formed the principal stage on the route from the Deccan to Sravasti, Kosala's capital. Asoka according to the *Mahawanso* was ruling here as Viceroy.

Barygaza or Broach is a trading town at the mouth of the Narmada river, on the west coast of India. The first Roman embassy with the Pandion is stated to have started from this port and proceeded by way of the Red Sea. It was also called Bargosa from Sanscrit Varikatcha. When the *Periplus* was written, it was a place of considerable trade and the commerce of the West first came here. It naturally welcomed opportunities of friendly intercourse with Rome.[144] Ptolemy describes it as the greatest seat of commerce in western India and the capital of a powerful and flourishing state.[145] It was also an important port of the Empire of Chandragupta Maurya.

These references may be said to establish, conclusively, considerable maritime activity and trade between South India and the West and suggest incidentally the existence of Greek settlements on the west coast of India.

It was natural for the Arabs to preserve a secret of their knowledge of the channels of trade with India. Certain accidents helped Rome in her quest of a cheaper method of obtaining materials from India and that directly without the Arab as an intermediary. A Roman subject, perhaps in the Abyssinian service, was driven to sea in an open boat to India with a favourable wind and much information. Subsequently, Hippalus, a venturesome

141. Note:—Dr. Burnell suggests Kadalundi near Beypore.
142. *Periplus*, § 71, p. 164.
143. *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, by Beal. iii. 154, 165, 1471.
144. *Apollonius of Tyana*, p. 81.
145. *Ptolemy*, p. 133.

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navigator (about A.D. 47) observed the periodic change of the Indian monsoon and made a successful voyage to India and returned richly laden with cargo. Of the articles of merchandise he was unable to secure however, was cinnamon.[146] Indians in their turn directed their attention to the West. They were besides the carriers of the trade to the Western countries from the Further East also. "The Chera backwaters became a meeting place for the trade from the China Sea to the Gulf of Suez".[147]

The civilization of Indo-China came exclusively from the Deccan and was of Indian origin. The Indo-Chinese inscriptions are dated in the Saka era and the alphabets closely resemble those of the Deccan.[148] There is evidence of the existence of this influence in the second century of the Christian era. Ptolemy gives the names of coast towns in Annam which are not merely Indian but Sanscrit. An inscription of a Champa king Sri-Mara or Mura-Raja is in Sanscrit, in an alphabet identical with that of the Rudradaman inscription at Girnar. "The Indo-Chinese civilization did not come from every place in India, but from a port of the Deccan whence the travellers embarked for Indo-China." Gudur near Masulipatam is identified with it. In Ptolemy's time, the whole coast line of Further India was inhabited by the Sindoi (Hindus) and the Brahmanic religion may have gone by the sea.[149] Brahmans from India civilized Siam.[150] The Cambodian Empire was Hinduised by a Brahman Houentieu (Kaundinya) in the first century A.D. according to the Chinese records.[151]

Besides, it was in the second century A.D. that the Chinese lost the command of the highways of Central Asia,[152] and transmarine commerce which was in existence as early as 120 B.C. between India and China got a fresh impetus. In the first century B.C., the Chinese knew India as T'ien-du or T'ienchu, about the time of the introduction of Buddhism into that country,[153] *i.e.*, about 67 A.D.[154]

Malaya and Java are also mentioned by Ptolemy. According to Dr. Fergusson, the Buddhist immigrants to Java came from Gujrat and the mouth of the river Krishna. The Indians of the Coromandel coast first established commercial relations with Indonesia.[155]

Ancient Hindu mariners had light-houses to warn ships, as for example at the port on the mouth of the river Cauvery where there was a big tower on a palmyra trunk carrying on the top of it a huge oil-lamp.[156] It shows

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146. *Ox. His. Ind.*, pp. 5-6.
147. *Periplus*, p. 273.
148. *Dubreuil*, p. 85.
149. G. N. Banerji : *India*, p. 50.
150. *Kalidas Nag*, p. 39.
151. P. C. Bagchi : *India and China*, p. 15.
152. G. N. Banerji, *India*, p. 36.
153. *Ib*, p. 43.
154. *Kalidas Nag*, p. 23.
155. *Cf. Kalidas Nag*, p. 23.
156. G. N. Banerji : *India*, p. 26.

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the importance of the South Indian coast as a centre of trade. Fa Hien mentions sailing in 413 A.D. for Canton in a merchant vessel with 200 Hindu traders on board. About 222 A.D. at the time of the *Wu*, a ship with seven sails could sail from Kango-tia-chou, a place on the west coast of India according to Dr. Bretschneider, and could enter Tat'sin (Syria) within a month, if the winds were favourable.[157]

We have already referred to the existence of evidence in Egypt, etc., indicating close contact between the West and India and to these may be added the following.

In the Nile valley, and at Babylon, native authors such as Manetho and Berossus wrote in Greek. The Roman Empire offered the Greek intellect a new home with fresh constitutional and legal principles and the West became a province of Hellenic manners and customs.[158]

In Auxum, the capital of Abyssinia, the great monolith, belonging to the first century A.D. is of Indian inspiration. While the idea is Egyptian, the details are said to be Indian.[159]

In the *Anthropological Magazine, Man*, for 1906, part VIII, the famous Egyptologist Flinders Petrie, refers to his discovery of portraits of Indian men and women at Memphis, as the first remains of the Indians known in the Mediterranean. The connecting links testifying to embassies from Egypt and Syria to India and to the missions of Asoka for the propagation of Buddhism as far west as Greece and Cyrene which were so far lacking appear to have started with the discovery of the Indian colony at Memphis. Further researches may shed great light on this connection.

A reference to Alexandria may be made in concluding this long account. It was here the Greek play is said to have been composed. Alexandria was essentially a Greek city, made up of about every nation under the sun. It carried on a large, profitable and increasing trade with the East. Its influence on the Roman Empire and European civilization was vast. Its schools of philosophy modified Christianity in the East. Its wealth and population excited the jealousy of Augustus. Hadrian was struck with the activity and the industry of the Alexandrine population.[160]

Alexandria was dealing with Indian wares. Dio Chrysostom, contemporary with Plutarch and a friend of Apollonius of Tyana, who lived in Trajan's time, mentions Indians among the cosmopolitan crowds to be found in the bazaars of Alexandria, having come by way of trade.[161] There is a suggestion that the Indians referred to may be the Ethiopean Indians, whose

157. G. N. Banerji: *India*, p. 43.
158. *Ib.*, p. 22.
159. Fergusson: *History of Architecture*, Vol. I, pp. 142—3.
160. *Finlay*, p. 85.
161. *Apollonius of Tyana*, pp. 62—3.

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city was Adule. But, it is said, Hindus also resorted to this centre of the world's trade.[162]

There was a statue of the River God Indus in the town, probably the gift of a Greek. Constantinople also seems to have reported the presence of Brahmans.[163]

During the reigns of Severus, his son Caracalla, and the pseudo-Antonines, Alexandria and Palmyra were most prosperous and Roman intercourse with India was at its height. Then Roman literature gave more of its attention to Indian matters, and did not, as formerly, confine itself to quotations from the historians of Alexander or the narratives of the Seleucidian ambassadors but drew its information from other and independent sources. In the life of Isiodorus by Damascius as presented by Photius is to be found an account of some Brahmans who visited Alexandria and lodged in the house of Severus, *i.e.*, before he became consul (A.D. 470 ?) and took up his residence at Rome.

Thus, under the Romans, Alexandria was the centre of the world's trade; its port was the mistress of the trade which passed between India and Europe. The Syrian vessels touched there *en route* to Italy. The harbour was always busy and full and in the streets might be seen men of all languages and dresses.

Recapitulating what has been elaborately set out before, it will be found that a few solid facts emerge from the preceding considerations.

1. The existence of trade between South-West India and Egypt.
2. Colonies and settlements for purposes of trade of the Greeks and Romans in South-West India and of Indians in Egypt.
3. Some familiarity with the Greek tongue by trading Indians and of Indian languages of the South by the people of Alexandria interested in Eastern trade.
4. Intimate knowledge of Egypt and the Nile, etc., acquired by the Indians, whether it implies that the Indians came to India from thence or Indians colonized there later.
5. Reference to the Brahmans and Hindus in ancient Greek literature and the discovery of Roman coins in India excluding the possibility of identifying Indians with other than Hindus.

These facts are of paramount importance in coming to a decision regarding the language of the unknown passages in the Greek play under reference. It is unfortunate that no attempt has been made to explore the possibilities of these passages belonging to any language in Egypt and the surrounding

162. *Ib.*, p. 62.

163. Dr. G. Oppert in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1879, Vol. XXIV, pp. 209—220.

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countries. Whether the passages do not belong to the Etruscan language has also not been considered. Then, the island of Socotra is in the Indian Ocean and, not improbably, the people there may have been at that time generally known as Indians like the Ethiopians and others. Till the Mussalmans overran that country, it was only Greek that was spoken there and it was an important centre of the Eastern trade at the period of which we have been speaking. It is not unlikely that a large number of Socotrians also lived in Alexandria. It is impossible for us, here, to say whether the unknown passages do not belong to the language of Socotra or again whether these passages have not something to do with the listed words and passages of the language spoken by the people with whom Eudoxus of Cyzicus came into contact during his voyages. If we could exclude the possibility of the passages being thus identified with any other non-Indian language, then the question would again arise whether they may not have something to do with the Brahūi dialect of Gedrosia, which has marked affinities with the Dravidian languages of the South. If 'Pandion' be a mistake for Porus and the embassy went from the north-west India, then even the Greek language of the embassy's credentials could be explained. This avenue of research also deserves careful consideration. A north-western Indian relationship with the passages would also be consistent with the knowledge of the Hindus regarding East Africa and the large number of Sanscrit words to be found in the vocabulary of the Egyptian language. It may also be usefully considered whether the unknown passages may not belong to either later Pali or old Prakrit. The publishers of the *Oxyrhyncus Papyri* on p. 55, while commenting on l. 83 containing the words '*Panoumbretikateman*', etc., say: "Assuming that it is worth while to bring the barbarian language into relation with any known speech the key is possibly to be found in late Pali or old Prakrit. We owe to Dr. G. A. Grierson the suggestion that in the present passage, for instance, *Panoumbreti* may represent *Pano amrita* (drink and nectar) which suits the context remarkably well. Similarly, he would convert *alemmaka* in l. 205 with the Pali *alam*, (enough or stop), *ka* being a substantive suffix which an ignorant Greek might use incorrectly. But we must leave the consideration of this question to Sanscrit scholars." It may nevertheless be said that the vast intercourse between south-west India and Alexandria may be considered favourably to locate the scene of the play in a western port of Southern India. In this case, we cannot be unmindful of the second embassy to Rome in the first half century A.D. Plocamus learnt the language of the country Ceylon : it must have been Tamil. If, however, Pliny's *Taprobane* refers to Sumatra, a fresh difficulty arises.

Of course, if we could agree with Dr. R. Shama Sastri's identification of Malpinaik, an important link for his case will have been forged. This apart, Dr. Shama Sastri combines ransom and drink But as the distinguished savant

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of the Mysore University (Sir Brajendranath Seal) has said, the two cannot be, and as the drinking scene undoubtedly is there, casting dice for ransom may be abandoned. The scene is also reconstructed in the Report by him with this modification. Following the syllabification (which Dr. Shama Sastri has made) of the transliteration of the unknown Greek passages one seems inclined to agree with the learned doctor that the passages may be of the Kannada language. But it is not altogether easy so to agree without a little straining of Kannada itself.

Dr. Seal does not appear[164] wholeheartedly to agree with this identification, judging from the words 'if this is Kannada speech, etc.' I have had the advantage of a long and useful discussion with him on this subject and he seems to consider that the language may be Dravidian while it would be rather difficult to contend that it is Kannada only, excluding the possibility of Tamil being the unknown language. I may observe that Dr. Shama Sastri is a Sanscrit scholar and that Dr. Seal is also a scholar in Pali and Prakrit in addition. In the second century A.D. Malayalam had not yet definitely formed, but Tamil was a well developed language. The difference between Kannada and Tamil in the derivation of words, etc., may not have been so much as now. The annexed table[165] indicates how, if the language can be said to be Kannada, it may be considered to be Tamil as well, though the rendering as we have it creates a predisposition in favour of Kannada.

If the farce was staged at Alexandria,[166] why should it contain non-Greek, particularly Kannada passages? Who could appreciate it there? Was the Kannada language likely to be understood by any important section of the people in that place? I can understand Tamil scenes in a Burmese play or a French scene in an English drama like *Henry V*.[167] Dr. Hultzsch was unable in 1904 to identify more than a few words and Dr. Grierson suggested Pali or Prakrit to have been the unknown language. Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar has not been able to give us the benefit of his experience. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri whose recent demise we all so much deplore was kind enough to spare to me long talks on this play; I trust I am not taking any advantage in stating that he felt it difficult to agree with the identifications of the learned doctor. Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, our President,

164. See p. 19, *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1926. 165. See Appendix "C".

166. The Publishers suggest it may have been staged at Oxyrhyncus.

167. *Cf.* Shakespeare: *Henry V*, Act III, Sc. iv. Rouen—a room in the palace.

A dialogue in French between Katharine, the daughter of Charles and Isabel of France and a lady attending on the princess, called Alice, is given, about 60 lines in all. In the previous scene, the English Forces are below the gates of Harfleur in France and the Governor and citizens on the wall. King Henry enters with his train and the gates are opened to him. Note—French could be easily understood and the scene appreciated by Shakespeare's English audiences at the time.

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has given me many and valuable hints and I am extremely grateful to him. I have had the benefit of interesting discussions with Messrs. B. M. Srikantia, D. V. Gundappa, B. Venkatanaranappa and others and I regret to say that my sanguine expectations were not realized.

'Chiefs of the Indians', in the text, may not refer to the tribal chieftains at all. None are referred to in the *dramatis personæ* or the play. Why does the Hindu king address his party as 'Indian Chiefs' or address them in Greek while starting them to dance, himself leading, while on every other occasion, he speaks in the unknown language?

Then, the form of the identification is again important. There is no trace of the existence of any Kannada literature prior to the seventh century A.D. The words as identified read like modern Kannada. The primitive Kannada of the Kadamba period is said to differ as much from the Kannada of the thirteenth century as the latter from the modern. Beowulf and a mid-English verse may each be compared with the poems of Tennyson or Kipling to give us some idea of the difference. Nor is there any indication of the spoken Kannada of the period.[168]

In a paper contributed to the Third Oriental Conference held in Madras on the 'Earliest Monuments of the Pandya Country and Their Inscriptions', Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer refers to the Brahmi cave inscriptions of South India and suggests the language of the inscriptions to be Tamil, from the orthographical and other peculiarities. They may be the same for the sister languages, Kannada and Telugu. In any case, they are peculiar to the Dravidian languages. It may possibly be that some Tamil scholar will give that attention to this subject as Dr. Shama Sastri has done for Kannada and guide the lay reader towards a correct solution. Dr. Shama Sastri is doubtless entitled to say that his identification is strengthened by Malpi and the Tamil mixed language of the Udipi people.

The conclusion becomes irresistible that judgment should be suspended, pending further elucidation of several facts referred to in this paper. The lovers of the Karnataka country and its language cannot be sufficiently grateful to Dr. R. Shama Sastri, for his laborious research and most praiseworthy endeavour to identify these unknown passages and I hope, with the march of time, his identification will be enabled, by further research, to become an accepted fact.[169]

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168. Some specimens of early Kannada from the inscriptions are given in Appendix "B".
169. The text of the passages is given in Appendix "A".

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APPENDIX A.

Text of the Papyrus as given in the Text. (Oxyrhyncus Papyri III, No. 413.)

(Col. iv of the Greek Text, ll. 188—230.)

F. Lady Charition, rejoice with me at my escape!
A. (Charition). Great are the gods.
B. (buffoon). What gods, fool? * * *
A. Cease, fellow!
F. Wait for me here and I will go and bring the ship to anchor.
A. Go; for see, here come their women from the chase.
B. Oh! What huge bows they have!
A woman. Kraunou. *Another.* Lalle.
Another. Laitalianta Lalle . . .
Another. Kouakos anab . iosara.
B. Hail!
All. Laspathia.
B. Ah! Lady, help!
A. Alemaka. *All.* Alemaka.
B. By Athena, there is no . . . from us.
A. Wretch, they took you for an enemy and nearly shot you.
B. I am always in misfortune. Will you then . . . to the river Psolichus?
A. As you like. (*Drums.*) B. * * *.
All. Minei.
F. Lady Charition, I see the wind is rising, so that we may cross the Indian ocean and escape. So enter and fetch your property, and if you can, carry off one of the offerings to the goddess.
A. Prudence, fellow! Those in need of salvation must not accompany their petitions to the gods with sacrilege. For how will the gods listen to men who try to win mercy with wickedness?
B. Don't you touch, I will fetch it.
F. Well, fetch your own things then.
A. I do not need them either, but only to see my father's face.
F. Enter then; and do you serve them . . . and give them their wine strong, for here they come.

(Col. ii of the Greek Text, ll. 38—106.)

B. I think that they are the daughters of swine; these too I will get rid of. (*Drums,* * * *.)
All. Ai arminthi. (*Drums.*)
B. They also have run away to the Psolichus.
C. Yes; but let us get ready, if we are to escape.
B. Lady Charition, get ready if you can to take under your arm one of the offerings to the goddess.
A. Hush! Those in need of salvation must not accompany their petitions to the gods with sacrilege. For how will they listen to the prayers of those who are about to gain mercy by wickedness? The property of the goddess must remain sacred.
B. Don't you touch; I will carry it.
A. Don't be silly, but if they come, serve them the wine neat.
B. But if they will not drink it so?
C. Fool, in these regions wine is not for sale. Consequently, if they get hold of this kind of thing, they will drink it neat against their will (?).
B. I'll serve them lees and all.
C. Here they come, having bathed, with . . . (*Drums.*) . .

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King. Brathis. *All*. Brathis. **B.** What do they say ?
C. Let us draw lots for the shares, he says. **B.** Yes, let us.
King. Stoukepairomellokoroke. **B.** Back, accursed wretch !
King. Brathie. (*Drums*). Bere konzei damun petrekio | paktei kortames bere ialero depomenzi | petrekio damut kinze paxei zebes lolo | bia bradis kottos. *All*. Kottos.
B. May you be kicked by ' kottos '. *King*. Zopit. (*Drums*.)
B. What do they say ? **C.** Give them a drink, quick.
B. Are you afraid to speak then ? Hail, thou whose days prosper ! (*Drums*.)
King. Zeisoukormosede. (*Drums*.) **B.** Ah ! Not, if I know it !
C. It is watery ; put in some wine. (*Much drumming*.)
G. Skalmakatabapteiragoumi.
H. Tougoummi nekelekethro. **G.** Eitoubelletrachoupteragoumi.
B. Ah ! None of your disgusting ways ! Stop ! (*Drums*.) Ah ! What are you doing ?
H. Trachountermana.
G. Boullitikaloumbaï platagoulda bi [
B. Apuleukasar. (*Drums*.) *King*. Chorbonorbothorba.....toumionaxizdespit platagoulda bi.....sesorachis. (*Drums*.) *King*.....orado satur [
King. Ouamesaresumpsaradara ei ia da [
B. Martha marithouma edmaïmaï maïtho.....thamouna martha marithouma. (*Drums*) .....tun [
King. Malpiniakouroukoukoubi karako....ra.
All. Aba. *King*. Zabede zabiligidoumba. *All*. Aba oun [
King. Panoumbretikatemanouambretououeni.
All. Panoumbretikatemanouambretououeni
Parakoumbretikatemanouambretououeni
Olusadizapardapiskoupiskateman areiman [
ridaou oupatei . a . (*Five drummings*.)
King. A boundless barbaric dance I lead, O goddess moon,
With wild measure and barbaric step ;
Ye Indian chiefs, bring the drum (?) of mystic sound,
The frenzied Seric step . . , (*much drumming, beating*.)
All. Orkis [.]. **B.** What do they say again ?
C. He says, dance. **B.** Just like living men. (*Drums* * * *)
C. Throw him down and bind him with the sacred girdles (*much drumming. Finale*.)
B. They are heavy now with drink.
C. Good ; Charition, come out here.
A. Come, brother, quickly ; is all ready ?
C. Yes, all : the boat is at anchor closely ; why do you linger ? Helmsman, I bid you bring the ship alongside here at once.
D. (*Captain*). Wait till I give him the word.
B. Are you talking again, you burgler ? Let us leave him outside to kiss the ship's bottom.
C. Are you all aboard ? *All*. Aboard ! **A.** O unhappy me ! A great trembling seizes my wretched body. Be propitious, lady goddess ! Save thy hand-maiden !

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APPENDIX B.

Mysore, Vol. III, P. 1. *Ep. Car.*, p. 381. A.D. 189, Nanjangud 199.

ಗಟ್ಟವಾಡಿ ಗ್ರಾಮ.

ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ಸಕ ವರಿಷ
ನೂಜಪನ್ನೊನ್ದನೆಯ ೧೧೧
ಆಂಗ್ಯಿರ ಸಂವತ್ಸರ
ದ ಎಱೆಹವೆಮ್ಮಡಿ
ಯಂ ರಾಜ್ಯದನ್ದು ಗೊ
ಟ್ಟೆವಡ್ಡಿಯ ಗೋವುಣ್ಡು
ಗಳಂ ಸೆಲಾಂಭ್ಯೆಯರುಂ
ಆನೆಯರುಕುಡಿ ಗೋವು
ಣ್ಡುಂ ಗೆಯ್ದುವದರ್ಕ್ಕೆ ಇವರ ಕೊ
ಡಗ್ಯೆ ಸೆಲಬೈಯರ ಕೊಡಗ್ಯೆ
ಎಱೆಹಂಬಾಳಿಂ ಆನೆಯರ ಕೊ
ಡಗ್ಯೆಂ ಕೊಡೆಕೆ ಎಡನಟ್ಟಕ್ಲಂ ಕೊ
.ಸಿದಾಕೆಱೆ ತಗಡುರ ಕುರು
ಳ ಕೊಗೂಣ್ನೆ ಎಡತಲೆಯ
ಕೊತದಪುಳ್ಳಿಗನುಂ
ಕೆಂನ್ನೆಲ್ಯೆಯ ಬದ್ರ
ಕ್ಷೆ ಐಯನೂಂನಿಟ್ಟರೆ
ಯ ಬೋರೆ ಅಚ್ಚೆಗಣ್ಡನುಂನ
ಲ್ಲ್ಯೆವರುಸಕ್ಷಿ ಉರಎ
ಟ್ಟಿದಿಂಬರುಸಕ್ಷಿತ
ಣಾಪತ್ತಿಬೆಯಳ ಜೀಯ
ನುಂ ಊರಪುರವಂನು.
ಸಕ್ಷಿಕಮಜಸತಿ
ಗಂ ಬಡಗಿ ಮರಾಚರಿ ಜ
ಲನಾಗಂ ಕೆರೆಗಾಬಿಟಿಗನು
ಮಿಸಗರ ಬೀಮನುಂ ಹೊಲೆ
ಲಿಷವಂ ಇವರ ಸಕ್ಷಿ
ಯಂಗ . ಭರಾ . . ತಪ್ಪೆ
. . ದೇವರ ಭಿದಿರಿನಿಯ . .
. . ಇದ್ದುರ್ ಕೆಡ . . .
rest damaged

Ep. Car., *Mysore*, Vol. III, P. 1, at pp. 353-54, ll. 12 ff.

Nanjangud, 122. Harivarma A.D. 266.

ಹಳಗನ್ನಡಕ್ಷರ. 3 ಹಲಿಗೆ ಆನೆಮುದ್ರೆ.

. . . ಕೊಚ್ಚಟಿ ಕೊತ್ತಗಾವುಣ್ಡನ್ ತತ್ಪುತ್ರ ಕೋರಾತ್ಯಗಾವುಣ್ಡಂ ದುಷ್ಟಸ್ಸವಾಹಕ ಮಱೆವೊಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾವಂತೆ ಬಣ್ಟರ ಭಾವ ಚೆಲಕುಱುವ ಹೆಞ್ಜಱ ಸಮರವಲ್ಮೂರಾರಿ ಮಾರನಾಗಿ ಗುದುರೆಯ ಪಾಯಿಸಿ ತಾನ್ಡೆ (ದಂಡು) ಯನಿಱುದು ರಾಣಿವಾಸ ಭಣ್ಡಾರಮಂ ಪೆಚಿದು ತೋರಪಳಯಿಗೆ ಭಾಗಿತ್ತಿ ತೊಱೆ ಬಡಗೆರೆ ನಾಡು ವಿಷಯ ಅಪ್ಪೊಗಾಲ್ನಾಮ ಗ್ರಾಮ ಸರ್ವಜಾದು ಪರಿಹಾರಮಾಚ್ಕಿಱ್ತು ಗೊಟ್ಟಂ ತಸ್ಯ ಸೀಮಾನ್ತರೇ ಪೂರ್ವ ನೋಡಿ ಕೊಲತೂರ ದ್ವಿಸನ್ಧಿ ಕೊಲದ ಗುಣ್ಡಯೇ ತೆಂಕನೋಡಿ ಕಿಱರತಿಂಣಿ ಪೆಣ್ಡಿಗಗಾಲನಿ ಎರೆಕಟ್ಟೆ ಸಞ್ಚಾರಿ ಭೂಮಿನ್ದ ಪೇರೊಟ್ಟಿಯ ತುಟ್ಟಿಲೆ ಎರೆ ಪಡಿಯೆ ಗೊನಶು ಭೂಮಿಲ್ಪುಣಿಸೆಯೆ ಬಬ್ಬಾಗಿಲ ಹುಸಗೂರ ದ್ವಿಸನ್ಧಿ ನಡಿಯೆ ಪಡುವ ನೋಡಿ ಮಣಲದಿಂಣೆ ಕಾರಳ್ಪುಣಿ ಸಯ್ಯೆ ಬಬ್ಬಾಗಿಲ ಕೊಱಳನಲ್ಲೂರ ದ್ವಿಸನ್ಧಿ ನಾಱುವತ್ತ ಮನ್ದಾಣ್ಡಿ ಎರೆಪಡಿಯೆ ಗೊನವ್ರಿಯೊಟ್ಟೆನಟ್ಟೆ ಕಲ್ಲಿ ಸಞ್ಚಾರಿಯ ಬರತಿಯ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಕೊಣಲೆವಿಡಿದು ಪೇರೊವ್ವೆ ಬಡಗ ನೋಡಿದಟ್ಟ ಪುಣಿಸಯ್ಯೆ ಕೆಂಬರೆ ವತ್ತು ಮನ್ದಾಣ್ಡಿ ನರನೊಳ್ಬೆಯಂ ಕೆಂಕೆಱೆಯ ಪೆರಿಯ ಪುಂಗಿಯ ಪೇರೊಟ್ಟೆಯ ಮುರಿದು ಕಿಡಿವಗುಣ್ಡಯ ಬಬ್ಬಾಗಿಲ ದ್ವಿಸನ್ಧಿಯ ಪುಣಜಪರಳನ್ದಿಯ ನಾಡ ನೋಡಿಕೆ ಕೆಂಕೆರೆಯ ಕೊಳದುಬ್ಬಲೆ ಕೆದಲ್ಪಡಿಯ ಮೂಡಣದಿ ಕೊಲದ ಗುಣ್ಡೆಯ ಕೂಡಿತ್ತು ಸೀಮಾನ್ತರಸ್ಯ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿಣಾಂ ಕೋತ್ತಮಬ್ಗಿಲದ ನಂದಿಯರು ಹಡದ . . . . ಪುಡೆಯರು ಗಣಿಗನೂರಲಿನದ . . ಕಿರು ತಲಕಾಡಹನ್ನು . . ವರು ಮದ್ದೂರ ಗಣೆಯರುಂ ಸ್ವದತ್ತಂ ಪರದತ್ತಂ, etc.

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Ep. Car., Vol. VII, p. 156. Shikarpur 52 (?) 357 A.D.

ಪೂರ್ವದ ಹಳಗನ್ನಡಕ್ಷರ ಆನೆಮುದ್ರೆ.

" . . . ಪದ್ಮಾವತೀದೇವಿಯುಳಿದ್ಧ ವರಪ್ರಶಾಘತದಜ್ಞಾಳ್ತಾದ ಪರಮ ಘಟಿವನ ಪುರುಮಧ್ಯೇ ಶಗ ವರ್ಷ ನಯನಗಿರ್ತ್ರೇನಯೂ ಶಾಧಾರಣ ಶಮ್ಮಚ್ಚರೇ ಪಾಲ್ಗುಣಮೂ ಅಮವಾತೇ ಆದಿವಾರದನ್ದು ಕಾರೆನಾಡ ದೇವಸೂರನು ಳಗ್ಗೆಯರ ಕುಳದಮಧಿಗವುಡನ ಶುಪುತ್ರ ರಾಮಧೇವನು ಹೆಜ್ಜಜಿನಿಜಿದು ರಾಜಮಲ್ಲನ ಹೆಣ್ಡತಿ ಭಣ್ಟರವನು ಬಲ್ವಳಾ ತಿನ್ದೊಪ್ಪಿತಿದಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಮೆಚ್ಚುಗೊಟ್ಟ ಭೂಮಿ."

Ep. Car. Vol. IX, Bangalore, p. 459. Ganga, Kongani Maharaja Db. 67.

ಆನೆಮುದ್ರೆ.

3 ನೇ ಪತ್ರದ ಹಿಂಭಾಗ

'24 . . . ಪೆರ್ಗ್ಗಟಿ ನಿಪನ್ನಿರ್ಕ್ಕಣ್ಡುಗವೆಡೆ ನಮಿಕೊಂ ಒನ್ದುಪಾಯಂ ಒನ್ದು ಅಭಿವುರ . .

Ep. Car., Vol. I, pp. 1—4. Coorg Inscriptions.

Copper-plate Inscription at Mercara. Date A.D. 466.

Purvada Hale-Kannada Characters. Seal: An elephant.

p. 3, l. 19—ಸತಿಯೆ ಅಜಿ ಒಡನ್ ಊರ್ ಊರೊಳ್ ಪನ್ನಿರ್ಕ್ಕಣ್ಡುಗನ್ ಗೆಯ್ದು ಅಮ್ಬಲಿಮಣ್ಣುಮ್ ತಳ ವನಪುರದೊಳ್ ತಳವಿತ್ತಿಯಮನ್ ಪೊಗರಿಗೆಟಿಯೊಲ್ ಪನ್ನಿರ್ ಕ್ಕಣ್ಡುಗಮ್ ಪಿರಿಕೆಟಿಯೊಳಮ್ ರಾಜಮಾನಮ್ ಅನ್ನುಮೋದನ ಪನ್ನಿರ್ ಕ್ಕಣ್ಡುಗಮ್ ಮನೋಹರಮ್ ದತ್ತಮ್ ಬದಣಿಗುಪ್ಪೆ ಗ್ರಾಮಸ್ಯ, etc.

Ep. Car., Kadur, Vol. V., p. 175. Ganga, C. 480; Nirvinita, C. M. 50;

ಪೂರ್ವದ ಹಳಗನ್ನಡಕ್ಷರ.

ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ನಿವ್ವನೀತರಾಕಱುಯಾಮಗನ್ದರ್ಕ್ಕದುವಟ್ಟಿಯುರಿನ್ದಮ್
ವಲ್ಲವರಸರಿನ್ದಬಿಕ್ಕಿಗೊಣ್ಡ ವದಸೂವಿದೊ
ರಾ ಅನುಜೊ ಇನ್ದು ಕನಲ್ಕೊಳಿನಸ್ದಿ ಯಾಲರಾವಿ
ಟ್ಟದು ವಡೆವೈಲಾಮುಅಮಸಪಾಲುಮ್
ಇದಾನಟಿದೊನ್ನಾಳನ ಪುದೊವಜ್ಜಾ ಮಾಪಾತಗಮಳ್ಕುಂ .
ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ಅವ್ವೋರಮ್ವದಿವಕ್ಕುವದಿರ್ಕ್ಕಣ್ಡು ಗನಲ್ವತ್ಥವಿ
. . . . ದಮರಮಸುಕೆಯೆ.

ಇ ಉರಾಸುಕಂ ದೇವತು.

Ep. Car., Vol. XI, p. 20. No. 43 of Chitaldroog. (A stray verse). 5th cent.

ಬಿಣಮಣಿ ಅನ್ತು ಭೊಗಿ ಬಿಣದುಳ್ಳಣಿವಿಲ್ಲನದೋನ್
ರಣಮುಖದುಳ್ಳಕೋಲಂ ನೆರಿಯಕ್ಕು ಮನಿನ್ದ್ಯಗುಣನ್
ಪ್ರಣಯಿಜನಕ್ಕೆ ತಾಮನಸಿತೋತ್ಪಲವರ್ಣ್ಣನವನ್
ಗುಣ ಮಧುರಾಂಕ್ಕ ದಿವ್ಯಪುರುಷನ್ವರುಷ ಪ್ರವರನ್ ॥

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Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 60. About 6th cent. A.D.

On the rock near the Vaishnava Cave III, Badami.

ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಪೃಥಿವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಂಗಲೀಸನಾ
ಕಲ್ಮನೆಗೆ ಇತ್ತೊದು ಲಂಜಗೇಸರಂ ದೇವರ್ಕೆ ಪೂಸಿಜುವ
ಮಾಲಕಾರಗ್ಗೆ ಅದ್ದ ಪೀಸದಿ ಇತ್ತುದಾ ಗಟಿವೋನ್
ಪಚ್ಚಿ ಮಹಾಪಾತಕನಕ್ಕುಂ ಏಟಿನೆಯೂ ನರಕದಾಪುಟು ಅಕ್ಕುಮಾ.

Ep. Car., Vol. X, pp. 2-3. Kolar No. 6, 735 A.D.

ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ಕೊಂಗಣಿ ಮಹಾರಾಜಶ್ರೀ ಪುರುಷ ಪೃಥುವೀ ರಾಜ್ಯ ವಿಜಯ
ವತ್ಸರ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತಾ ಏಣ್ಬನೆ ಯೊಳು ತಿವಮಾರ| ಕದಮ್ಬೂರಂ ಆಳೆ
ಕದಮ್ಬಬ್ರಹ್ಮದರಮ್ಮಳಾಯೋನ್ನಜುಕಣ್ಟೇಶ್ವರಕು ಪೊಯ್ತ
ಮಲುತ್ತ ಕಬಿನಿ ಕಣ್ಡುಗಂ ಎಲೂತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಪಾಳು ಅಯ್ತು ಮಾಸೇ
ಮೊನ್ನಿತ್ತಿಳಿ ಆಜಿರನ್ತ ವೊಕಣ್ಟೇಶ್ವರುಂ ಆಳ್ವ ಅರಸನು ಮಾ
ಡಿಸುವೊರ್ ಪಾಲಿಸುವೊರ್ ಪೊನ್ನಿಲನುನ್ನಿ ಸಿಜುಸುಳ್ಳರೆ ಕಾನಿ
ಪೊದು ಅನ್ತು ಮಾಡಿಯ ಪೋಲಿಯೆ ಕೊಣ್ಡು ದಳಿವುತು ಕುವೊಂ
ದು ತಳಿಕ್ಕರಿಕ ಪೊರೊಟ್ಟು ಮಾನುವೊನ್ಬು ಮುದಲ್ಮಕ್ಕಣ್ಡುಗ
ಭಕ್ತ ಪೋಲಿಯೆ ಕೊಣ್ಡುಟ್ಟು ವೋನ್
ಈ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮ ಮಾನ್ನ ರಕ್ಚಿಚ್ಚಿದೋನ್ನವಿ ಎನ್ತಲೆ ಪೋಲೊ
ಈ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮ ಮಾನ್ನವಿಪೋನ್ವಬ್ಲ ಮಹಾಪಾತಕನಕ್ಕು
ಅರ್ಧಕ್ಕಣ್ಡುಗ ಆಯುಪುದ ಪೊಯ್ತೋದು.

Note.—Mr. T. T. Sharman of the Visvakarnataka office kindly referred me to a few of these inscriptions.

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APPEN

(For numbers see *Mysore*

Original Passages	A Tentative Rendering in Kannada	Probable Interpretation
2. Kraunou	Karevano ? ಕರೆವನೋ ?	Does he call ?
3. Lalle	Lalle ಲಲ್ಲೆ	(He is) coaxing
4. Laitalianta Lalle	Le ennuta le ennuta lalle ಲೆ ಎನ್ನುತ ಲೆ ಎನ್ನುತ ಲಲ್ಲೆ	He is coaxing by saying 'le'
5. Kotakos anab. iosara	Koḍagûsina bayyasara ಕೊಡಗೂಸಿನ ಬಯ್ಯೆಸರ	An insulting word of the buffoon to the maiden, *i.e.*, the Greek lady
6. Laspathia	Lêsu baḍia, ಲೇಸು, ಬಡಿಯ	Well, beat him
7-8. Alemaka	Allemmakka, ಅಲ್ಲೆಮ್ಮಕ್ಕ	Not, my sister
9. Psolichus	—	—
10. Minei	Mîna ? ಮೀನಾ ?	For bath
11. Ai arminthi	Ai âr mindai, ಐ, ಆರ್ ಮಿನ್ದೈ?	Who has bathed ?
12. Brathis	Bêre âthisu = bêre âḍisu, ಬೇರೆ ಆಡಿಸು	Cause them to play at dice, each separately.
13. Stoukepairomel-lokoroke	Toyige pâyiro mellogarakke, ತೊಯಿಗ್ಗೆ ಪಾಯಿರೊ ಮೆಲ್ಲೊಗರಕ್ಕೆ	For the boiled pulses, rush and for the purpose of getting the sauce

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DIX C.

Archæological Report for 1926.)

Glossary of Words	Tamil Equivalents
root *kare*=to call: 3rd person, singular, future tense.	Karevano? (கரைவனே in Kodun-Tamil) Does he call?
cp. *lallevâtu*.	Le. (லே) He is coaxing.
'*le*'—particle used in addressing females. '*ennuta*'—imp. part. of root '*en*'=to say.	Le le enṛu (லே லே என்று) He is coaxing by saying (Le, le).
'*Koḍagûsu*=a virgin. '*bayva*'=present part. of root '*bay*'=insult. *Sara*=*svara*=voice.	—
'*lésu*'=well. '*badiya*'—imperative singular of root *baḍi*=to beat.	.....Adi (அடி)..... Beat.
'*alla*'—emma+akka.	Alla-em-akka (அல்ல நமது அக்க) Not (my or our) sister.
—	—
miṇa ay. *miṇa*=noun form of root *mî*, to bathe. *ay* is an expletive.	.....May it not be a shortened and corrupt form of meenakshi; if so, it does not fit in with the context.
âr=who, *minday*—2nd pers. sing. indicative form of past tense of root *mî*=to bathe.	Ai Âr.....(ஆர் or யார்?)..... Who? If Ai, yär munthai, it means, look here, who will be the first.
bére—separately. *âḍu*—2nd pers. imperative sing. of root *âḍu*=play: *âḍisu*=2nd pers. imperative singular causal form of the root *âḍu*.	Vêre attuvi (வேறே ஆட்டுவி) Cause them to play each separately; *cf.* Vrathis, *i.e.*, those who are under a vow.
18th Gk. letter Sigma is usually prefixed to words beginning with a consonant, *toyige*=boiled pulse. *pâyiro*—2nd pers. imper. pl. form of root *pây*=to rush. *Mellôgarake*=for the sauce (dative singular).	Thovaikku pāi ..... (தோவைக்குப் பாய்.....) For the boiled pulses rush; *cf.* Thūkki, payara, melḷa, korokko.

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Original Passages	A Tentative Rendering in Kannada	Probable Interpretation
15. Brathie	Bere, athi=bêre âḍi, ಬೇರೆ ಆಡಿ	Play separately
16. Bere konzei damun petrekio	Bêre koṇḍu hoida mun bêtirêkeyo? ಬೇರೆ ಕೊಂಡ್ಡು ಹೊಯ್ದ ಮುನ್ ಬೇತರೆ ಏಕಯೋ?	Why do you cringe before it is separately poured to you?
17. Paktei kortames bere ialer o de pomenzi petrekio	Pagaḍeya kôrutam îsu bêre ellarâḍe ponneṇisi bêtirêkeyo? ಪಗಡೆಯ ಕೋರುಟಮ್ ಈಸು ಬೇರೆ ಎಲ್ಲರಡೆ ಪೊನ್ನೆಣಿಸಿ ಬೇತರೆ ಏಕಯೋ?	Though you have been hoping this much through casting the die each after counting the gold at stake, why do you still cringe?
18. Damut kinze paxei zebes lolo bia bradis kottos	Tamutake eṇisi pagaḍeya îse besadolavia bêre âḍisu kottu ôsu ತಮುಟಕೆ ಎಣಿಸಿ ಪಗಡೆಯ ಈಸೆ ಬಿಸದೊಲವಿಯ ಬೇರೆ ಆಡಿಸು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಓಸು	Cause each of them to play, each having counted his own (share) and each casting the die loved for odd (number) and chop off the whole (of sauce).
19. Zopit	Hô bittu ಹೋ ಬಿಟ್ಟು	Oh, it fell.
20. Zeisoukor mosede	Hoyisikol môsade ಹೊಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ ಮೋಸದೆ	Have it poured into your vessel by cheating.

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Glossary of Words	Tamil Equivalents
—	Vêre âḍu(ngal).....(வேறே ஆடு (ங்கள்). Play separately.
koṇḍu—past part. of the root *koḷ*= to take. *Hoyyada*—negative part. of root *hoy*=to pour out, *mun*= before.	Vêre kondu peivadarku mun edarku vêttir. (வேறே கொண்டு பெய்வதற்கு முன் எதற்கு கெஞ்சுகிறீர்) Why do you cringe before it is separately poured to you? *cf.* Vêṛe Konjam or Kanji. See Dr. Hultzsch's rendering in *J. R. A. S.*, 1904.
pagadeya=accusative singular of *pagade*=dice, *kôrutam*=present part. of root *kóru*—to desire, hope. *Îsu*=this much. *ellar*=all persons. *âḍe*=having played. *pon* =gold. *eṇisi*=having counted, from root *eṇisu*=to count, *bétir*—past pl. of *bé*=to beg. *éke*=why.	Pagadeya korium.....vêre ellâr adavum pon enni edarku vêttir. (பகடையைக் கோரியும்.....வேறே எல்லா (ரும்) ஆடவும் பொன்எண்ணி எதற்கு கெஞ்சுகிறீர்) Though you have been hoping.....through casting the die each after counting the gold at stake, why do you still cringe; *cf.* pakkathu kotram vêre ayatar oḍê pomênru petrukio. "Would you send neighbourly friends away and take the things yourself?"
Greeks felt it difficult to pronounce Kannada words. See *Sabdamanidarpana*, Sutras 148 and 209. *îsa*=*ísu*+*e*. *besada*=of the odd number, *olaviya*—accusative singular of *olavi*=love, from root *ol*=to love. *Kottu*=chop off, *ósu* =all.	Thangaladai enni pagadeyei..... vêre âtti kottu (or kuttu)..... தங்களதை எண்ணி பகடையை..... வேறே ஆட்டி (வித்து) கொத்து (or குத்து).
For *hô biḷdattu*. *ho*—an interjection, *biḷ dattu*—past, singular of root *biḷ*.	Hô! Vîlndadhu or (Vizshndadhu) (ஓ! வீழ்ந்தது).
hoyisikoḷ=get poured. *môsaḍe*=by deceit.	Peidukol mōsathinâl (பெய்து கொள் மோசத்தினால்).

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Original Passages	A Tentative Rendering in Kannada	Probable Interpretation
21. Skalmakata	Kaḷ maka tâ, bâ ಕಳ್ ಮಕ ತಾ, ಬಾ	O son, come and give the wine.
22. Bapteiragoumi	Opputerake avam î ಒಪ್ಪು ತೆರಕೆ ಅವಮ್ ಈ	For the ransom agreed upon, give them (wine).
23. Tougoummi	Toyige avam î ತೊಯಿಗೆ ಅವಮ್ ಈ	Give them (wine) along with the boiled pulse.
24. Nekelekethro	ni kêḷêke ettiro ನೀ ಕೇಳಿಕೆ ಎತ್ತಿರೊ	You ask them why. Raise up, your cups.
25. Eitou belle trachoupteragoumi	Âyito belle trâska opputerake avam î ಆಯಿತೊ ? ಬೆಳ್ಳೆ ದ್ರಾಕ್ಷ ಒಪ್ಪು ತೆರಕೆ ಅವಮ್ ಈ.	Is it over ? then the white wine ; give them (wine) for the ransom agreed upon.
26. Trachountermana	Trâskavun teramâna ದ್ರಾಕ್ಷವಂ ತೆರಮಾನ	Wine is the ransom.
27. Boullitikaloumbai	Bâ oḷitu îkaḷ umbai ಬಾ ಒಳಿದು ಈಕಳ್ ಉಂಬೈ	Come, you drink this good wine.

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Glossary of Words	Tamil Equivalents
kaḷ=accusative singular, *maga*=son, vocative case, *ta*, *ba*—second pers. imperative singulars of roots *tar*=to bring, *bar*=to come.	Kal-maka-ṭā-vā. (கள் மக தா வா) O son, come and give the wine; *cf.* Kal makkal tha=give the drink to the children. Quære: Is *Kal* the stone?
oppuṭerake is the compound form of *oppida terake* from root *oppu*=to agree; *avam*=them; *î*=second pers. imperative singular of *î*=to give.	Oppu thirai avarkku î (ஒப்பு திறை அவர்களுக்கு ஈ) For the ransom agreed upon give them (wine); *cf.* Appam tarugumê=We will give the cakes.
toyge—dative singular of *toy*=boiled pulses.	Thoyaiku avai î (தொவைக்கு அவை ஈ) Give them (wine) along with the boiled pulse.
ninkêḷ êke ettiró. nîn=you, *kél*—second person imperative singular of root *kél*=to ask, *êke*=why, *ettirô*=raise up, second person plural imperative of root *ettu*=to raise.	Nî-kêl-edarku.....ettir. (நீ கேள் எதற்கு.....எடுங்கள்) You ask them why. Raise up (your cups); *cf.* Nee keelê ulkhaṇdhiru=You may be seated.
âyito=is it over, *beḷdrâksha*=white wine.	Ayito, vellai or (vellē) thrashi..... oppu thirai avaigalukku î. (ஆயித்தோ, வெள்ளை திராட்சை; ஒப்பு திறை அவைகளுக்கு ஈ) Is it over? Then the white wine; give them wine for the ransom agreed upon; *cf.* Yedo vallê rakshithu tharugumê=Here, now, I am able to give you protection.
drâkshavum teramâna. drâkshavum=wine also; *teramâna*=payment or ransom, from root *teru*=to pay.	Thrāshaiyum.....thirai mānam (திராட்சையும், திறைமானம்) Wine is the ransom. *cf.* Rakshithu, tharuvanō=Will he protect us?
bâ=come. *olitu*=well (adverb). *ikaḷ*=this wine, *umbai*—you will drink from the root *un*=to eat.	Vâ-ollidu-î-kal-unbai (வா ஒளிந்து ஈ கள் உண்பை (பாய்) Come, you drink this good wine; *cf.* Olinthi kolḷum payya=Son (child), hide yourself.

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Original Passages	A Tentative Rendering in Kannada	Probable Interpretation
28. Platagoulda bi...	Pâl (=bâl) tagulḍapai ಪಾಳ್ ತಗುಳ್ದಪೈ	You get life.
29. Apuleukasar	Â puḷi kasar ಆ ಪುಳಿ ಕಸರ್	This is the sour sediment of the wine.
30. Chorbonorbo-thorba	Kôruvon orvan dorevon ಕೋರುವನ್ ಓರ್ವನ್ ದೊರೆವನ್	One who desires will appear.
31. Toumion axiz	Tâvamîvon ತಾವಮ್ ಈವನ್	He will give you a place.
32. Despit platago-ulda bi...	Axih dêśa biṭṭu bâḷ tagul-dapai ಆಕ್ಸ ದೇಶ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಬಾಳ್ ತಗುಳ್ದಪೈ	Having left the country of Axih (Oxyrhyncus) you will get life.
33. Seo sarachis	Śiva sarakisu ಶಿವ ಸರಕಿಸು	O Siva ! bestow care on us.
34. Oradosatur	Oldu ose tôr ಒಲ್ದು ಒಸೆ ತೋರ್	Kindly show love to us.
35. Ouamesare	Oumesare ಓಮೇಸರಿ	Obscure. Is it Somesvara near Malpi ?

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Glossary of Words	Tamil Equivalents
Mr. B. L. Rice suggests 'to clap hands'. *bâḷ*=life, accusative singular; *taguḷdapai*=2nd pers. sing. present of root *taguḷ*=to be in contact with.	Vâlvu (Vazhvu) thakkikol. (வாழ்வு தாக்கிக்கொள்) You get life; *cf.* Peḷai thu koḷḷu vai=You will survive.
â=particle indicating wonder, *puḷi*=sour, *kasar*=sediment.	Â puli kasar (kasadu, kayar or kasandu) ஆ புளி கசர் (கயர்) This is the sour sediment of the wine; *cf.* That sour sauce.
orvan=one (masculine sing.); *dorevon*=will be forthcoming, from root *dore*=to obtain.	Kôruvân oruvan thônṟuvan (கோருவான் ஒருவன் தோன்றுவன்) One who desires will appear; *cf.* Sōru mun othâr bâ=Before we are tired, let our people come.
tâvam=a place, accusative sing. *îvon*—will give, 3rd pers. fut. sing. of *î*=to give.	Thâvu-avan-î-van (தளக்கு அவன் ஈவன்) He will give you a place.
dêśavam+*bittu*=having left the country.	Axih dēsam viṭṭu vāḷvu adaiṿai. (Axih தேசம்விட்டுவாழ்வு அடைவை) Having left the country of Axih you will get life; *cf.* Dêsam vittu pilaithu koḷḷu vai=Leave the country and save your life.
sarakisu=take care of, second pers. imperative sing. of verb *sarakisu* formed from the noun *saraku*=care. cp. *Sarakugoḷ*.	Siva, sâru (சிவா சாரு) O Siva! bestow care on us.
oldu=having loved. *ose*—*tôr*=show love.	Oliḍu-asayei-thoṟṟu. (ஒலிடு ஆசையைத் தோற்று). Kindly show love to us; *cf.* Vovvôr dêsattār=people of different countries.
—	* Ôm-Îsarê. (ஓம் ஈசரே). O God! *cf.* Ov vumō nêsarê=Is this good, friends?

* Here it strikes me, that, "Oumesare" need not be obscure nor need it be attributed to a village called Someswara near Malpi. We can safely say that it means O God! The king first prays to God Siva to bestow care on him, secondly, to show love to him and lastly, he addresses him as Om Îsarê (ஓம் ஈசரே) Oh God! etc. So this (35) Oumesare which is mentioned as obscure may be taken to mean Om Îsarê (*i.e.*) O God! etc.

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Original Passages	A Tentative Rendering in Kannada	Probable Interpretation
36. Sumpsaradara ei ia da...	Sumpsarada âra aida ಸಂಪಾರದ ಆರ ಐದ	Go to the river of the place called Sumpsara or Umpsara. Psolichus is short for Sumpsaradâru.
37. Martha marithouma edmaimai maitho thamouna martha marithouma	Mardam aridevu ; mâyada maime ; mâyada adan unna ; mardam aridevamma [according to Mr. Bhaskarananda Saltore]	Obscure. Dr. Shama Sastri doubts the interpretation. We learnt a medicine ; this is the power of Mâya ; eat this of Mâya ; we learnt medicine.
38. .....tun	—	An invitation of the sound of drums.
39. Malpiniak ouroukoukoubi karako...ra	Malpinâik avara avvage karadukoḷ ಮಲ್ಪಿನಾಯಕ್ಕ ಅವರ ಅವ್ವಗೆ ಕರದುಕೊಳ್	O Malpinaik,—the rest is obscure.
40. Aba	Aba-abba	A word of exclamation.
41. Zabede	Habbeḍe—Habbada eḍe ಹಬ್ಬದ ಎಡೆ	The dish of a feast.
42. Za biligidoumba	Habeḍege idan unbâ ಹಬೆಡೆಗೆ ಇದನ್ ಉಣ್ಬಾ	Come, eat this for a dish of a feast.
43. Pan oum bretikateman ouam bre thououeni	Pânavan bêre ettikkade mânavan bêre ettau avve nî ಪಾನವನ್ ಬೇರೆ ಇಟ್ಟಿಕ್ಕದೆ ಮಾನವನ್ ಬೇರೆ ಇಟ್ಟು ಅವ್ವೆ ನೀ	Without the distribution of drink to us separately, you divide shares of ransom (mâna), O madam.

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Glossary of Words	Tamil Equivalents
âra=river, accusative sing. from the noun *âru*=river (Tamil *âru*=river) *eyda*=go to, 2nd pers. sing. imperative form of root *eydu*=to go to, to attain.	.....Âru aidu. (ஆறு எய்து) Go to the river...*cf.* Sambhu saradara ē yā do=Would not Siva give us arrows to fight ?
—	.....*cf.* Marithu marithôme eḍam amaikm=If we should hide again, securing a good place.
—	.....*cf.* Thavamêna marithu marithome=by our *thapas*, if we can hide again.
avara=their, *avvege*=to mother, *karedukoḷ*=catch hold of, 2nd pers. sing. imperative form of the root *kare*=to call.	Malpi Naik avar avvayei karaindukol (மால்பி நாயக் அவர் அவ்வையைக் கரைந்துக்கொள்). This may be explained as follows :—The king may probably have asked the chief of Malpi who was with him, to send for the *Greek Lady Charition* (*i.e.*) *Avar avvai*. (அவர் அவ்வை).
—	Abba-abba (அப்பப்பா).
habbaḍa=of a feast. *eḍe*=a dish.	Paruvathin edē (பருவத்தின் எடை); *cf.* The feast of a person in the prime of life.
—	.....Idan-un (இதனை உண்) Eat this.
pânavam=drink, acc. sing. ; *bêre*=separately ; *ettikkade*=not having distributed (*ettu*+*ikku*) : *mânavam*=ransom, acc. sing. ; *bêrettu*=set apart, second pers. sing. imperative of root (*bêre*+*ittu*) ; *avve*—vocative case ; *nî*=you.	Pânathai vērē eduthuvaikkāmal mânathai vērē avvai nî edukkirâi. (பானத்தை வேறே எடுத்து வைக்காமல் மானத்தை அவ்வை நீ வேறே எடுக்கிறாய்). The meaning is strained.

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Original Passages	A Tentative Rendering in Kannada	Probable Interpretation
44. Panoumbretikate manouam bretou oueni	—	See 43. *cf.* Dr. Hultzsch, *J.R.A.S.*, 1904. Why not—give the nectar to drink it.
Parakoum bretika te ma noum bret ouou eni	Parakeyam bêre ettikkade mânavam bêrettau avvenî	Without setting aside our blessings you divide shares of ransom, O madam ; *cf.* Kindly see nectar is given to drink.
45. Olusadizaparda piskou piskate man	Olisade irpara tappisikol oppisikutte emman ಒಲಿಸದೆ ಇರ್ಪರ ತಪ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ ಒಪ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟೆ ಎಮ್ಮನ್	Unable as we are to win your regard, you may go away with our free consent.
46. Arei man ridaou	Âr emmannar ಆರ್ ಎಮ್ಮನ್ನರ್	Who are there like ourselves ?
47. Oupatei...a	Idu oppite ಇದು ಒಪ್ಪಿತೆ	Is this to your satisfaction ?
48. Orkis	Oragisu ಒರಗಿಸು	Support him (the king).

NOTE.—The rendering in Kannada, probable interpretation and the glossary of words are according to Dr. Shama Sastri (*cf.* Mysore Archæological Report for 1926). I am obliged to a few friends for the Tamil Equivalents.

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Glossary of Words	Tamil Equivalents
—	—
parakeyam—singular of *parake.*	Parasu..... (பரசு).....Blessings.
olisade=without loving, neg. part. *tappisikoḷ*=escape; *oppisi*=having persuaded ; *emman*=us ; *âr*=who.	Oliyâdiruppavar—thappithukol—oppi-vittu engalai. (ஒலியாதிருப்பவர் தப்பித்துக்கொள் ஒப்பி விட்டு எங்களை).
—	Âr-em-annar or Âr-emmannār (ஆர் எம் அன்னர் or எம்மன்னர்). Who are these like ourselves ?
—	Idu oppiṟṟō ? (இது ஒப்பிற்றே ?) Is this to your satisfaction ?
oragisu=second pers. sing.	Urangavai (உறங்கவை). Allow him to take rest by making him sleep.

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